

A National/International Political organ fighting for the oppressed Black Masses from the Americas to Africa

ARM THE MASSES

"the era of the Masses, people's power
which places all authority, wealth
and arms in the hands of the People"



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AFRICA MUST UNITE!

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Inside ATM - - -

*The Masses Are Key:
African National Congress...page 2*

*Interview with the Foreign Minister
of the Pan Africanist Congress
of Azania...page 2*

The Masses Make Revolution...page 11



*"The Struggle Must Continue
in South Africa (Azania)"*

Editorial: Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, page 10



Harare Conference

ANC/PAC

Call for Patriotic Front



The historic two day meeting of the Joint National Executive Committees (NEC's) of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania was held in Harare, Zimbabwe from April 15 to 16, 1991.

The agenda included an Assessment of the Current Situation, the unprecedented escalation of violence in our country, the Constituent Assembly, Sanctions, the Interim Government, the Patriotic Conference, the Multi-Party Conference and the All-Party Congress. The main thrust of the meeting was to pave the way for an early establishment of a Patriotic Front, in pursuance of resolutions adopted by both organizations at their respective national conferences.

It was agreed that the main content of the present phase of the struggle is the immediate transfer of democratic power to the majority. It was further agreed that it is vital for all forces which support this objective to unite for this purpose.

The meeting discussed, in depth, the current violence and concluded that the principal source of the violence is the apartheid system and regime, by employing the special counter-insurgency units such as the C.C.B., Koevoet, Buffalo Battalion 32, the Askaris, the Z. Squad and others to repress and terrorize the National Liberation Movements and other democratic activists.

Both sides called for the verifiable disbandment of the C.C.B. and other death squads.

It was also resolved that the organizations of the oppressed should identify and speedily isolate those among their membership who indulge on

attacks on supporters of other political organizations. In this regard, all organizations should encourage and develop a culture of political tolerance and democratic practice and should desist from making hegemonistic claims.

The Joint Meeting resolved that a Constituent Assembly is the only mechanism through which our society can be genuinely democratized. The meeting consequently rejected the regime's Multi-Party formula which it advances as a substitute for a Constituent Assembly.

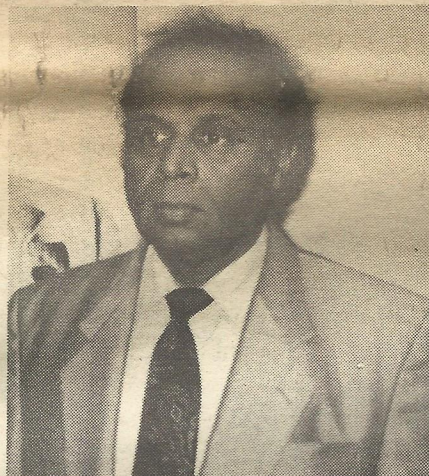
It was further decided that there shall be no engagement on the modalities for a Constituent Assembly until the regime meets the demands for the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the unhindered return of all exiles, and complies with all the other pre-conditions set out in the UN Consensus Resolution of 1989.

The meeting decided to convene a Conference of Patriotic Forces, aimed primarily to unite the oppressed. All representatives of organized groups and bodies who support a Constituent Assembly should be united to this conference. In the meantime the ANC and PAC resolved to approach all those still not committed to a Constituent Assembly, with a view to encouraging them to participate. The Patriotic Conference will take place in Cape Town during August, 1991.

The meeting created joint structures to implement these and other decisions. A special joint sub-committee on Sanctions was appointed.

The meeting was an outstanding success and in the words of the closing addresses of the two leaders "exceeded our best expectations."

Pan Africanist Congress Foreign Minister Details Party's Role



propagating information to the masses, ATM was privileged to have an opportunity of sharing a discussion with the Honorable Ahmed Gora E'brahim, Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa).

On the PAC's

Historical Development

When the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) was formed as an organization, we of the Pan Africanist Congress asked ourselves three very basic questions: the first being, what are the fundamental contradictions in our country that have to be resolved. We concluded that the fundamental contradiction

continued on page 4

African National Congress The Masses Are Key

The masses are central to the struggle for political power and for the transformation of society. This is the case because they are the victims of the system of apartheid. They are the majority. They are the ones who have the most to gain from national democratic transformation.

The struggle cannot be won by a few creative, skillful and heroic individuals.

It must involve the masses throughout the length and breadth of our country, and at all levels of the political process. It must combine the creativity of the masses with the abilities of the individuals in leadership.

This approach is pivotal to ANC strategy and tactics. It applies to all conditions and to all forms of struggle. Even when the ANC was

still banned, underground structures linked the movement with the mass of the people.

We had to ensure, from the difficult conditions of illegality, that the policies of the movement were brought to the widest spectrum of our people, especially the oppressed. We had to ensure the widest possible organization and mobilization of the masses, and make them active and direct participants in the struggle for their own liberation.

Our approach to armed struggle is guided by the same principles. Umkhonto we Sizwe [armed wing of the ANC] is the core of the broader people's army, which relies for its recruits and for its survival on the mass of the people.

Above all, the armed struggle

continued on page 4

-ARM THE MASSES

What we believe:

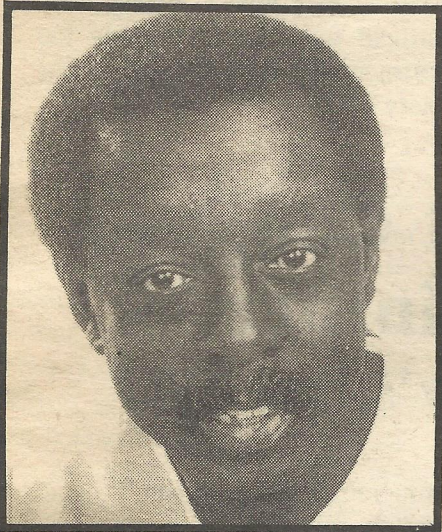
Revolutionary nationalism and socialism for the Black Nation, forty million Africans captured inside the racist, capitalist USA. The Black Nation is constituted by a distinct history and psychology shaped by racial and national oppression of its people and their resistance to national oppression; a historically-developed land-base concentrated in the southern USA; a common language shaped with its own cultural idiom; a common economic way of life, underdeveloped due to racism. Africans are mainly wage-slaves to capitalism who will never control the means of production, but all are subject to racist exploitation across class lines. The struggle of Africans inside the USA is a human rights struggle for self-determination, national liberation and the freedom to control African people's destiny free of Racism, Capitalism, and Imperialism.

FREEDOM OR DEATH!

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Ivory Coast "Summit" -- Rebirth of Pan-Africanism or International Black Bourgeoisie Snow Job?



by Elombe Brath

With the rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union leading to the latter's withdrawal from pretensions of super-power status, along with the disintegration of the Eastern European socialist camp offering new opportunities for western investment, the prospect of Africa becoming so unattractive that this undeveloped massive continent can no longer depend on Washington or Moscow, i.e., the west or east, so to speak, for additional aid commensurate to Africa's need, has become a distinct reality.

As a result, the long overdue attempt to consolidate a relationship between Africans in the motherland and those in the diaspora for mutual benefit in developing Africa for the Africans worldwide is both apropos and very timely. The tapping of the skills acquired from those Africans who have been contributing their talents to the development of the world's most formidable super-power as well as the spending power of over \$300 billion could, if truly organized in a revolutionary Aficentric capacity, bring about a radical social transformation of not only the over four hundred million Africans at home but the over one hundred million of their brothers and sisters in the western hemisphere, particularly the 35 million-plus in the US.

Therefore, to many it is conceivable that any effort to concertize such a stated goal should be given unequivocal and enthusiastic support. Maybe. But not necessarily.

In fact, the enthusiasm one may give to such an objective is -- or, at least, should be -- dependent on who are the representatives of the two prospective parties. What is their history? Whose class interests do they serve? Indeed, who have they been serving in the past is a key question before one starts generating enthusiastic support on a purely racial and emotional basis which, in the final analysis, does more to harm the interests of the broad masses of our people in both Africa and the US.

The recent trip in April of a group of 300 civil rights leaders, elected officials, professionals and scholars to Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) is a classic example of why one has to be concerned about who's who in this seemingly grandiose neo-pan-Africanist scenario. billed as the "First African - African-American Summit" conference and held in Abidjan, the "former capital" of Ivory Coast, the sponsors claimed to be laying out an agenda to establish "Leadership for a New Tomorrow."

Quite interesting is the fact that although there were over 300 invitations sent to participants, the overwhelming number of African and/or Black nationalists, Pan-Africanists or other revolutionary-minded brothers and sisters were not invited, being overlooked or neglected. Moreover, for a conference hoping to bring about "leadership for a new tomorrow," there seems to have been a dominant number of old civil rights spokespersons, most of whom -- to put it mildly -- differed with those who saw African internationalist unity as a high priority item on any agenda of the total liberation of our people.

Since such great emphasis was placed on the fact that "this was not a conference, but a summit," the absence of the recognized orthodox nationalists and genuine Pan-Africanists raises suspicions of why this was done in the manner in which it was. And what kind of leadership the organizers are calling for to promote a new tomorrow? A brief analysis of the summit planners answers both these questions.

It is common knowledge that the two co-conveners of this summit were Leon Sullivan, the founder and president of the Occupational Industrial Center (OIC) and Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the reactionary president of Cote d'Ivoire and leader of the so-called Parti Democratique de Cote d'Ivoire [Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast], -- Africa's longest incumbent party,

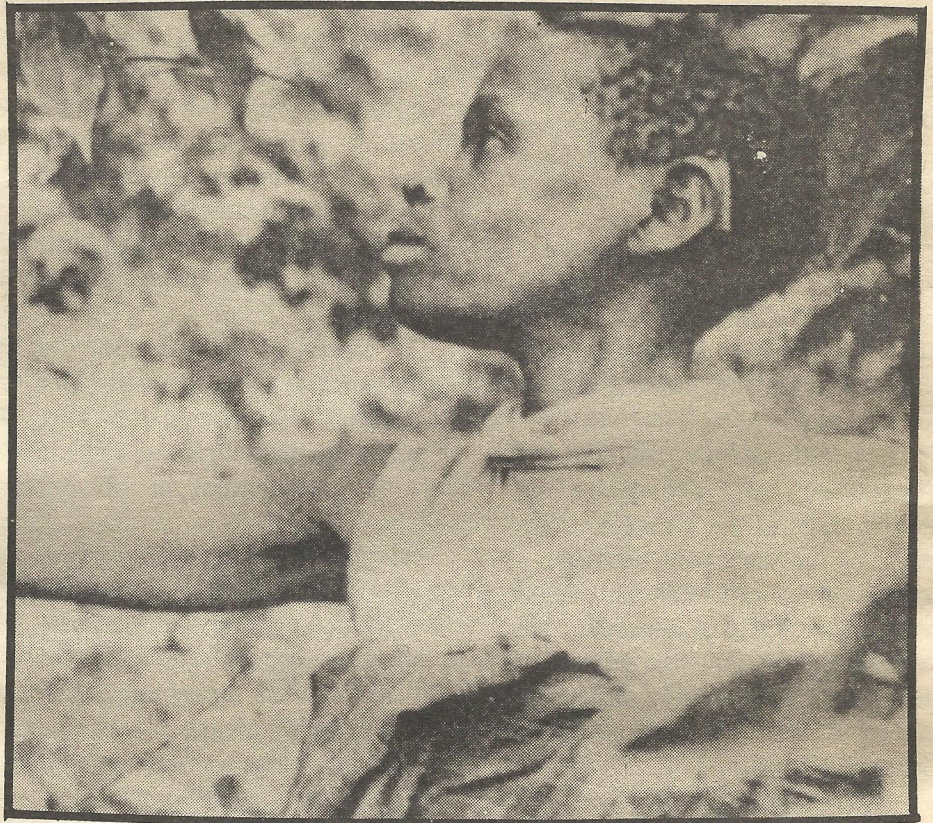
OIC is headed by Leon Sullivan, a well-meaning Black entrepreneur based in Philadelphia who, for over a decade, played a diversionary role by confusing the popular support base for disinvestment in South Africa with his so-called "Sullivan Principles" -- essentially a series of slick excuses to thwart the efforts of the anti-apartheid movement to develop comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist regime in Pretoria.

Sullivan, who served on the board of directors of General Motors, the giant automotive multinational that had been exploiting cheap labor in South Africa since 1926, had

originally been for divestment but later bowed to the wishes of GM and allowed himself to become an obstacle in US transnational corporations being forced to leave, allowing them to continue to amass superprofits in the apartheid state.

Perhaps because of Sullivan's corporate-connected background many activists became concerned by the numbers of other Black capitalist types, along with some interested white political and financial-oriented

continued on page 17



Subsistence-type farms are not enough to meet the needs of Africa's famine struck populace.

African Famine Victims World Crises Ends Relief

By Omowale Clay

The New York Times, a consistent barometer of American finance monopoly capitalism's views, policies, and trends, recently reported on the dismay and faltering compassion felt by the industrially developed nations towards the constant famine and food crisis in the underdeveloped countries in general, and Africa in particular.

It is reported by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization that as many as 35 million people are at risk in the six African countries most threatened by famine: the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Liberia, Mozambique and Angola. These countries are identified as having one common thread: civil war.

On the other hand, world food relief efforts have come under pressure from the sheer magnitude of the most recent string of crises on the African continent, and other locations like the Persian Gulf, the cyclone in Bangladesh and cholera epidemic in Peru and other South American countries, along with earthquakes in Costa Rica.

The general theme the New York Times advocates is that Civil war and over taxation of the relief system has so wearied some relief organizations and/or individuals, while relief continues, are contemplating a stringent method to the question of peace to food relief.

The tragedy of this arrangement, and paternalistic attitude towards our people, is that a good number of us believe that America and the European community are doing us a favor in providing relief benefits, and even have a right to complain of

our lack of self-sufficiency.

The historical reality is that famine was a problem general to the whole world at one point, and if any region felt the brunt of these crises it was Europe, which consistently failed in its ability to feed itself. It was with the advent of imperialism and colonial conquest that the Third World in general and Africa in particular had their productive forces violently disrupted and redirected into a worldwide system that subordinated the basic needs of the colonial people's to that of the western metropolises.

Self-sufficient agricultural production was replaced by specific cash crops that benefitted the European economy, while the colonies became dependent upon food imports from abroad.

And in regards to the "Civil Wars" in Africa, most are reflections of African people's battling for genuine independence against the neo-colonial forces, supported by Western capitals and capital. Mozambique's near total economic collapse and famine, is a direct result of the reactionary terrorism of RENAMO, [a guerilla movement fighting the government] which is backed by South Africa. The terrorist campaign has been to disrupt agricultural life in the countryside, forcing thousands of people into motion, unable to feed themselves, thus causing a national crisis.

The battle against famine in Africa is first and foremost a fight for Africa to unite. Anything can grow in Africa and with the destruction of imperialism and neo-colonialism, everything would.

African National Congress The Masses Are Key

continued from page 2

would not develop in scope and depth without the active involvement of the people at all levels of armed activity, including popular combat groups and various other forms of armed resistance.

In time, the merger between mass and armed activity would develop into a generalized people's war. How does the changed situation affect our approach to this aspect of our struggle?

The question of mass involvement arises even more acutely at the present stage of our struggle. As a result of the combined offensive - underground organization, mass mobilization, armed struggle and international work - the liberation movement has decisively shifted the balance of power in favor of the forces of transformation.

People's organizations have been unbanned, and some leaders and cadres have been released. Pretoria has been forced to recognize the centrality of the ANC in South African politics. It has conceded that negotiations have to take place with representatives of the majority of the people, and that power relations have somehow to change.

We are, therefore, entering a period in which negotiations might become a reality. We are faced also with the challenge of building an open, mass-based ANC. As a result of our struggles and our sacrifices, the question of political power has been placed high on the agenda.

In all these levels of activity, the democratic movement should rely on the masses of the people. It is their commitment to the cause of liberation, their actions, their creativity and their initiative which will ensure that the transformation we seek will definitely be attained.

The art of leadership consists in the ability to sense the mood of the people, to identify issues that affect the people most, and to harness the energies of the people to achieve their desired goal.

Where are the masses? Are they involved in what we do? Are we sufficiently consulting with them? Are we acting on the basis of their direct mandate?

These are some of the central questions that should nag all structures and members of the democratic movement wherever they are and whatever they are involved in.

The regime, despite having state power, no longer has absolute and sole control over various institutions and even geographical areas. This applies to a number of townships, some bantustan areas, education, the contest around labor legislation and other fields.

Therefore, our task is not simply to respond to the strategies and tactics of the apartheid rulers. The

people have won some commanding heights in the strategic balance. It is the task of all democratic structures to ensure that all our forces take advantage of the victories we have scored in order to advance the struggle. Mass organization and mobilization are, more than ever before, the cutting edge of our struggle.

The conduct of these struggles has to relate to the principal task of the moment: the question of transfer of power to the people as a whole and the transformation of our society.

Among the most immediate issues we face is the creation of the atmosphere for free political activity in all parts of the country. All political prisoners must be released. The State of Emergency must be lifted in all areas of the country. Repressive laws must be abolished. Troops must be withdrawn from the townships.

Such an atmosphere will allow organizations the space within which to canvass their ideas among the people and strengthen their structures. It will also allow the people to wage struggles around their demands without state repression.

But to achieve such an atmosphere requires struggle on all fronts. Further, we have to continue waging mass struggles, even if free political activity has not been created. Like in the Defiance Campaign, we should ourselves create the space within which we can operate.

Our struggles should address the question of the content of transformation as broadly defined in the Freedom Charter. Its interpretation into concrete constitutional forms requires not only the skills of our constitutional experts. What they draft must reflect the demands of the people on the ground.

Above everything else, the process of drafting our constitutional positions must involve the people, along the same lines as the campaign that led to the adoption of the Freedom Charter.

This would entail, among other things, discussions at all levels around the Constitutional Guidelines put forward by the movement a few years ago. It is crucial that this process should itself generate mass actions around the demands of the people.

These demands should relate to the fundamental question of power. For example, the struggles around privatization, a new labor law and higher wages should be seen in the context of the struggle for the democratization of ownership and control of the economy. The demands for the abolition of the bantustan system and for the rights of agricultural workers touch upon

the basic question of a central government of the people and land redistribution.

Mass actions around these issues as well as the refinement of people's demands could then culminate in a representative assembly of the people where the constitutional positions of the democratic movement would be adopted.

Related to this is the question of sectoral charters of workers, women, the media, cultural workers and others. In discussion as well as in action, the demands of various

sectors of society must be put together and become part of the constitutional framework for a future South Africa.

To be with the people: this is the principle that should guide all our actions. This also means the ability to draw into active struggle those who do not necessarily agree with all our positions.

We must forge a strong anti-apartheid force to bring about the fundamental transformation of our society.

Pan Africanist Congress Foreign Minister Details Party's Role

continued from page 2

that must be resolved in our country was the repossession of the dispossessed land. Clearly, it was not a question of merely sharing the same public toilets with whites, that was not an issue. We concluded our problem fundamentally is for "National Liberation and Self-Determination."

The second question the PAC asked was, which forces in the country can resolve this contradiction? We believe the solution could not and would not come from the illegitimate racist settler regime.

[The PAC saw] that their basic task as a vanguard liberation organization was to provide leadership (principled and uncompromising) and to educate, agitate and organize the masses to wage struggle on all fronts. This was a basic task of PAC because we concluded the principal vehicle for change was, in fact, the oppressed dispossessed majority.

The third question was what method must be employed to resolve these fundamental contradictions. Therefore, [we in] the PAC resolved [that we] must adopt all forms of struggle in order to bring about a just and lasting solution...including the form of struggle which is defined as "the highest form of conflict," mainly the armed struggle.

The current policy of the Pan Africanist Congress is the continuous utilization and maintenance of all forms of struggle. PAC maintains it will never, ever abandon the bullet until the ballot is secured in Azania (one man, one vote). This is a fundamental principle of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Development inside Azania

The internal resistance developing inside our country and the changes in Eastern Europe have led to a major setback for the racist apartheid regime. They can no longer use the "boogie man threats of communism" as an excuse to solicit uncritical, unprincipled western support, as they have in the past.

Secondly, and particularly in Africa, Western imperialist countries are demanding what you call

"democracy/multi-partyism;" and therefore, southern Africa could not remain outside of this demand. So in light of the collapse of socialism in the Eastern bloc... and the demands being put forward in our country, especially, the development of the resistance struggle inside Azania, [conditions have] forced deKlerk to develop a policy of defusing the internal situation, and the international pressures from abroad.

As a result of these newly developing situations, deKlerk, on February 2, 1990, was forced into the unbanning of the national liberation movements.

DeKlerk then insisted the various liberation organizations "rush" to engage in talks and negotiations with the illegitimate regime. His aim and plan was to force the unbanned resistance movements into operating from a position of weakness. Since the unbanning, they had not had sufficient time nor the opportunity to consolidate their forces and formulate a unified strategy and tactics for the resolution of national liberation and self-determination for the oppressed, dispossessed masses of Azania.

On DeKlerk's Attempts to Co-opt the Oppressed Black Masses

Until February 2, 1990, deKlerk relied on an all-white constituency for support. However, after February 2, he was not attempting to search and solicit support amongst the oppressed majority community. He wanted to co-opt us into the system. Also, he wanted to talk with the liberation movements not collectively, but individually.

To the African National Congress (ANC) individually, he wanted to engage them in exploratory talks; also, he wanted to engage AZAPO [the Azanian People's Organization] in the same process.

DeKlerk's chief objective was to engage us separately, whereas, he would not have to face a united front of the oppressed majority.

However, in order to win support in the oppressed community, deKlerk had to create a climate which would lead to the masses now looking to him as a savior.

continued on page 16

Today's
Youth...

TOMORROW'S
REVOLUTION!



Youth commemorate the life of Black national hero Malcolm X at National Malcolm X Youth Conference last month. (Photo by Lem Peterkin)

Youths Celebrate Malcolm X

Agenda: Work and Struggle

By LaVern McDonald

Black youths, representing the most advanced element from the captured Black Nation within the United States, gathered last month at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn, NY to celebrate the life of Black National Hero Malcolm X in a manner he would have commended: deep in work and ideological struggle.

Under the leadership of the Black Consciousness Movement and the December 12 Movement, more than 550 youths participated in the three-day long conference and constructed substantive discussions on the issues relative to their oppressed nationhood and their role in its liberation.

Billed as, "Malcolm X Lives in the Rage of Black Youth," the conference opened on Friday evening with a grouping of Black scholars and activists who provided a historical backdrop for the intensive weekend of work ahead.

Elombe Brath, a foremost historian, internationalist and activist, theologian/activist Fr. Lawrence Lucas, Viola Plummer, a committed and principled revolutionary, Bro. James Smalls, scholar and Black Nationalist theoretician and the Hon. Justice Bruce Wright, long known for his judicial advocacy in the apartheid United States court system, welcomed the gathering. All expressed their appreciation to the youths for having the vision and the commitment to organize and stage a

conference of this political and historical magnitude.

Puerto Rican scholar and human rights activist Dr. Luis Nieves Falcon brought messages of solidarity from the colonized people on the isle of Puerto Rico. Cuban labor leader Joaquin Beltran, who was visiting New York City as part of a speaking tour of the US, brought similar messages from the Cuban people.

Saturday's agenda focused on five workshops which conference organizers recognized as being integral to the formation of a Black Nation founded on socialist principles.

One workshop explored the question of a national identity. Key among the questions raised by workshop participants were i) what constitutes a nation, ii) do Blacks as a collective group meet the criteria for nationhood and iii) what mechanisms would foster the physical establishment of the Black Nation.

Another workshop explored methods of struggle employed by colonized people globally. Recognizing that the general strike has been effective in gaining some concessions from oppressor forces, the bulk of the discussion revolved around the theory of the general strike and how it can be engineered to have the maximum impact on the racist, capitalist system here in the United States. Participants were able to hear firsthand from a member of the Black Consciousness

continued on page 18

CUNY Strike 1991

The Heart of the Matter

by Carol Bullard with Raymond Terrero and Mark DePalma

Many people have inquired about the beginnings of the protests that rocked the City University system this spring. The easy answer is that it began with the seizure of the North Academic Center at City College. This would not only be untrue, but would betray a lack of historical perspective which we, as members of the largest ethnic diaspora and who are living in forced exile, cannot accept. We are not disconnected from our past. We are its vibrant glory made manifest, its centuries of despair and pain become triumphant.

It is in this light, then, that we must acknowledge that the roots of rebellion at City University of New York [CUNY] are five hundred years deep. And that the seeds of political protest were sown in the days of the first slave revolts, fertilized during the watershed of Brown v. Board of Education, and its fruits were ground with the milestones of the 1960s.

Viewed in this context, the events of the last seven months at CUNY are the continuation of a long history of protest and rebellion and part of a living legacy of struggle. The protests at CUNY did not begin with the rally at the CUNY Board of Trustees Headquarters on East 80th Street in December 1990 nor did they end with the release or forcible reclamation of University buildings during the first week of May 1991. This current round of protests is the continuation and, indeed, the reformation, of a Student Movement which was ignited in 1969 by People of Color for People of Color and went on to establish open admissions as the stated policy of the University and guarantee the academic legitimacy of African-American and Latino area studies (Black and Puerto Rican Studies) at the

university level.

This time around, in light of the direct threats to open admissions coming from both the Governor Mario Cuomo's proposal to increase tuition and CUNY Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds' (WAR, as she is affectionately known) College Preparatory Initiative, the protests, which really began in the Spring of 1989, took on a highly politicized air. This had not been the case traditionally and contributed to the oft cited racial overtones of the protests this spring.

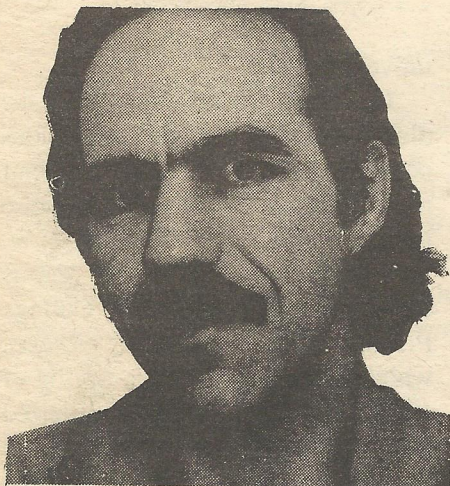
The fact is, that the City University is overwhelmingly made up of People of Color. People of Color, who, because of the political and economic realities of the United States in general, and the City of New York in particular, are condemned to lives of poverty. Therefore, any tuition increase, regardless of the economic rationale used to justify it, is a direct attack on our People and Our People's position at the University.

Yes, this is an issue of race. When over 70% of incoming freshmen are People of Color, when the University has, in twenty years time, gone from 70% white, to over 70% People of Color, a tuition increase directly translates into a People of Color decrease. When you factor that the Chancellor's College Preparatory Initiative would drastically reduce the numbers of incoming freshmen by "sending back to their high schools those who fail to pass minimum proficiency requirement exams," we can justly assess that the administration of the University is working in tandem with political forces within the state to insure the destabilization of the academic capability of Our People. When the cost of maintaining the bureaucracy necessary to accommodate a tuition-based university is higher than having a

continued on page 18



Freedom Fighter Details Political Development



RAYMOND LEVASSEUR

by Raymond Luc Levasseur

My first act of sabotage was committed when I was 17 years old, several years before my military service and tour of duty in Vietnam, several years before the Vietnam experiences jolted my consciousness and propelled me into a lifetime of political activism.

I was shown how to temporarily disable machinery by French Canadian workers. The objective was to draw the line at how many shoe heels we could produce per hour, beyond which it became exhaustive and dangerous. A short respite in a non-union shop which paid pitifully low wages. The object lesson was that we could penetrate the veneer of omnipotence that the company maintained. We had our dignity, dispelling in some small way the shadow of the mills that dominated our lives.

US imperialism is the most powerful and violent system on the face of the earth. On a personal level, this was brought home to me when I served in Vietnam in 1967. In 1991 it's being drummed home to the people of Iraq and Palestine. The entire history of US imperialism is built on theft and violence. Within US borders is found its legacy - the fractured nations of Native Americans, Chicanos, New Afrikans and Puerto Ricans.

It is not only the violence of the bomb and the bullet that is bullishly amerikan. It is also the violence of the spirit; the violence of a warped economic/political system that forces one generation after another to watch their children die from starvation, malnutrition, disease and social neglect. A violence which demoralizes and debilitates people whose human potential evaporates before their eyes. An imperialism that has always favored a particularly violent reaction to people of color.

My own life experiences have left the taste of sweat and blood indelibly stamped in my mind: the conditions of work - low paying, non-union, ass busting, hazardous jobs in mills, factories, fields, and construction sites, which I was subjected to in Boston's Dorchester neighborhoods; prisons - where I

have been in some of the country's worst.

My identity as worker revolutionary permits me no retreat from the suffering of others, be it in El Salvador, Southern Africa, Palestine, Puerto Rico or the South Bronx. From the vantage point inside the belly of imperialism I feel compelled and duty bound to act. But not as a gun carrying soldier in the US military as I once did; this time as a worker armed. A soldier still at war, operating from whatever level of resistance can be mustered to challenge the powers that exploit and kill for profit.

Acts of armed resistance with which I have been identified focused on the bombings of US military facilities, corporations doing business in apartheid South Africa and colonized Puerto Rico, and war profiteers. In the wake of the Soweto uprising and massacre, the Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson unit

responded with propaganda of the deed. With the wholesale massacres of Salvadorean people, the United Freedom Front responded with armed propaganda. Facilities were extensively damaged.

These actions were calculated to bring to the attention of the American people the crimes committed by their own government and US corporations. They were set out as an example that the system is not invincible; that the demands of the oppressed must be heard.

I believe that such acts of resistance are a political necessity if we are to develop a capability of responding to violence by the state. They are necessary if we are to build a revolutionary resistance movement, rather than merely creating a movement for a revolution others will make. Such acts are justified and give expression to principles of international law such as Nuremberg.

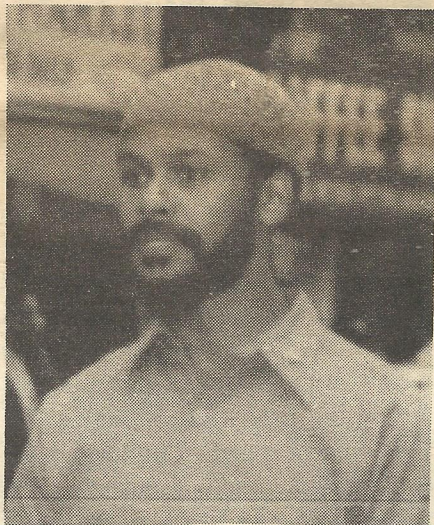
Within the context of exposing and preventing the commission of heinous crimes against humanity, we can't all be expected to function within what is considered acceptable and "clean" political activity. Nor should we wait for everyone's ideas

of objective conditions to fall into place. Some of us will step out into the realm of subjective conditions, get "dirtied" and bloodied, while engaging the enemy. This has been the way throughout history. This is a dangerous and difficult task given the powerful security apparatus of the state, a compliant and collaborating news media, and relatively weak left.

With liberation movements in other parts of the world, the key focus is freedom; with most US/left progressive movements the focus is non-violence. It is not only criticism of our actions and ourselves which comes from the left - it is condemnation. However, I've not heard condemnation coming forth from Soweto, Morazan province, Ponce, or the ghettos and barrios of Amerika. Nor would I anticipate such condemnation by the people of Iraq or Palestine should there have been a more forceful response within this country to imperialism's latest venture. Many leftists and progressives recently opted for the slogan, "Support the troops, not the war," virtually absolving American of any

continued on page 19

A Message on Health For Those who Want to Make A Difference



by Majeed Barnes

FREE THE BROTHERS

Brother Majeed Barnes, one of the Black Men's Movement 3, has contributed an article to ATM on the question of our diet and national liberation.

However, in the process of fighting to carry out his words in deeds, Brother Majeed was set up by Attica prison guards and sent to solitary confinement for thirty days. The reason: Majeed has refused to eat the unnutritious and harmfully processed food served in the prison mess hall, opting to eat food from the commissary and that brought by his wife and comrades.

Having been targeted by the FBI and their New York City COINTELPRO unit "the Black Desk," Majeed is monitored inside the prison's Central Monitoring System (CMS).

Majeed requested one afternoon to go to the yard instead of the mess hall where he doesn't eat. The guards insisted he requested to go to the mess hall, and when being forced to go, words were exchanged, resulting in Majeed being sent to

solitary for 30 days for "verbal abuse."

Of course, this action comes just one week before Majeed was to be evaluated for the downstate work release program.

This latest attack by the "state" on one of our freedom fighters will never break our spirit or give any legitimacy to their fascist rule.

You can call the warden at Attica, Walter Kelly, (716) 591-2000, and demand Majeed be released from solitary confinement and given work release status.

We often think of slavery and oppression as physical and mental chains, but let us also consider the foods we eat. There is an Islamic saying that the stomach is the hospital of the body. Well, considering the statistics of the hospitals today, our bodies are in bad shape. More people die in the hospital than anywhere else. As revolutionaries and conscious people who want to change our quality of life: we need to consider this, we are minority which needs to be at its best [in order to] prolong our lives to carry on the struggle. What and how we eat is as important as the political struggles we take on everyday. If we are what we eat, how can we eat "junk food" and expect to produce quality work? Although our schedules are very demanding, we must be disciplined and partake of the best fuels for our bodies and minds. The cells of our bodies are constantly breaking down and in need of repair and replacement. Only a careful supply of necessary nutrients can help fulfill our bodies' needs.

Sugar-laden, over-processed and

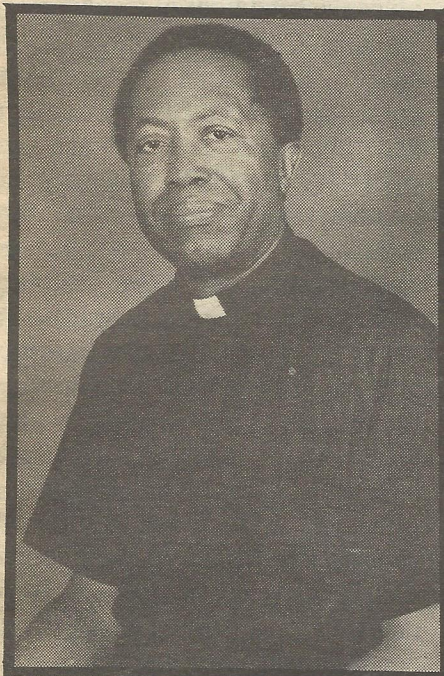
wrongly cooked foods alone are not only addictive but incomplete for the proper nutritional needs of our bodies and often work to degenerate some of our vital organs which leads to disease. Also, many processed foods contain additives and preservatives that wreak havoc on our health, physically and mentally. Studies have proven that allergic reactions to some of these additives take the form of skin rashes, headaches and mental disorders, to name a few. A good medical nutritionist can test for some of the disorders, or with the proper information, you can use a rotation diet and test yourself. The hyperactivity, mood changes and learning disabilities of some children and adults are often a result of sugar and refined flour consumption. Similar to various forms of drug abuse which often lead to violent and criminal behavior, studies have shown a similar pattern with the use of sugar and refined flour foods. Refined table sugar is definitely a drug that needs to be eliminated from our diets.

Vitamins, minerals and the basic food groups are all part of nutrition. Often the absorption of various food types, (protein, carbohydrates, fats, etc.) and vitamins and minerals relies on certain ratios between them in order to be utilized by the body. Vitamin and mineral supplements can be ineffective if the proper diet is not ingested.

There is numerous information on health and nutrition available at health food and book stores. Let us eliminate the crisis need for numerous doctors by being more conscious and revolutionary about our diets and health. This is one easy step towards our liberation.

Father Lucas Speaks Out on the Pope's Embrace of Capitalism

By Fr. Lawrence Lucas



Editor's note: In early May of this year, Pope John Paul II issued a official Church document, Centesimus Annus, outlining his support of capitalism as the correct political/social course for mankind to follow.

Given the Catholic Church's historical role as the ideological handmaiden of colonial Europe, it is not surprising that the Pope has come down on the side of wage slavery and imperialism. Although in the recent past, the Church has attempted to hide its support of imperialism, recent developments in the Church, such as the attack on Liberation Theology, demonstrate that the call for a new world order has been met by the Church with an open call to abandon socialism and national liberation.

The recent encyclical of Pope John Paul II, Centensimus Annus, as the name implies, is celebrating the hundredth anniversary of Pope Leo XIII's Rerum Navarum (of New Things).

...the apparent oblivion the Pope seems to have of the intrinsic connection the capitalism we have experienced has had with racism, militarism, and the destruction of the environment.

In its day, Rerum Navarum was a kind of blockbuster. In spite of its being crystally clear in the Scriptures, and especially the Gospels, Catholic theology and especially almost universally Catholic practice operated as if going to mass on Sunday and "going to confession" weekly or frequently were the totality of what was required of the good Catholic.

Rerum Navarum in strong terms for its day spoke shockingly of a Catholic social conscience and a social responsibility int he world in which Catholics live with other peoples.

Centesimus Annus, made public May 2nd, is written in what is called

the wake of communism's collapse in Eastern Europe. The Pope examines the strengths and weaknesses of different forms of capitalism and the "free market", and takes up such themes as work, unions, wages, unemployment, profit, atheism, class struggle, freedom and private property.

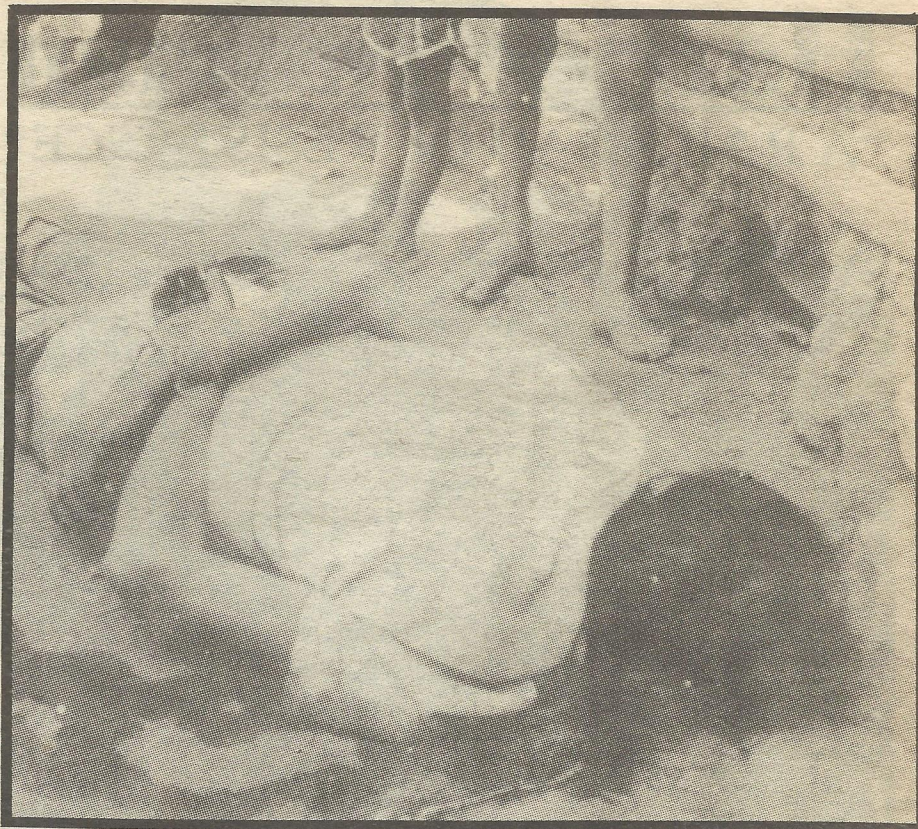
Some brief observations on the encyclical:

1 - I am not sure what the Pope means by communism and socialism. There seems to be a lot of capitalism intertwined with what is collapsing and I am not too sure what it is that is collapsing in Eastern Europe. It looks very much that great effort is being made on the part of the United States and Western Europe to shore up and build white supremacy.

2 - While the Pope did make many valid points on some benefits and evils of capitalism, he seems to have been dealing with some classical definitions of capitalism but somewhat divorced form the real experience of capitalism. His Polish background under "communism" coupled with the assumption that the grass is always greener on the side you're not on may help to explain some of this. Not surprisingly, therefore, our analysis and conclusions are rather different. The Pope analyzes and concludes that capitalism is basically the way to go. While there are some serious problems connected with it, it's the right direction and we have a serious responsibility to confront and solve those problems. My analysis and conclusion about capitalism as we have experienced it is that it is essentially corrupt and corrupting; has few redeeming features; and needs a quick trip to the undertaker.

3 - A final, and perhaps most

damaging, criticism is the apparent oblivion the Pope seems to have of the intrinsic connection the capitalism we have experienced has had with racism, militarism, and the destruction of the environment. European and American or United States capitalism were built upon, sustained, and flourishes on the rape of African nations and the exploitation of the labor of African peoples. Capitalism as we have experienced it is synonymous with white ownership, white control, white dominance and the use of incredible violence to maintain this. That this was not mentioned much less condemned says a lot about where the Pope is coming from.



Int'l Anti-Torture Group Convenes in El Salvador

Members of the International Executive Committee of the International Association Against Torture (AICT) met in El Salvador with Dr. Medardo Gomez from May 8 through May 14. Dr. Gómez was elected President of the AICT at its Second International Assembly held in Santiago, Chile in September, 1990. The purpose of the International Executive Committee's meeting in El Salvador was to analyze and reflect on the situation of torture as an instrument used in the violation of human rights whether it be in Latin America or other parts of the world.

During this meeting, plans and projects were also elaborated which will be implemented in an effort to defend the lives of persons in all parts of the world.

The AICT is in Consultative Status with the United Nations. The primary objective of this Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) is the promotion of human rights and the assistance in treatment of those persons who have been the victims of torture in all countries where it has representations. Previous issues of ATM have reprinted "interventions" made before the United Nations' Commission on Human Rights by December 12th Movement representatives. Our membership in the International Association Against Torture has allowed us to present the human rights violations committed by the US government in areas such as racism, political prisoners, self-determination and economic development. The AICT has a broad-based program throughout the americas, which includes the following area:

1) denunciation of situations where torture occurs and denunciation of its root causes;

2) education at the grass roots level in the area of human rights;

3) protection of those persons involved in the defense of human

rights and the promotion of projects designed to protect the lives of people; and

4) treatment of victims of torture and accompaniment of their families and human rights workers in difficult and irregular situations.

Dr. Gomez, the Lutheran Bishop for El Salvador, and the Central American region, has been an outspoken defender of human rights. His courageous position in defense of the poor and oppressed have resulted in numerous death threats. Such threats are taken seriously in this country which has witnessed the assassinations by the army and/or right wing death squads of Catholic Archbishop Adolfo Romero in 1980, and seven Jesuit priests in November 1989.

El Salvador, a country the size of New Jersey, has a population of 5,000,000 governed by a US-backed administration which represents the interests of a small right-wing oligarchy. Over 70,000 people have died in 11 years of resistance to the poverty and landlessness of this primarily peasant population. U.N. documentation attributes most of these deaths to the army and the death squads. The popular resistance movement is led by a coalition of revolutionary parties known by its Spanish acronym FMLN (Farabundi Marti National Liberation Front). The FMLN has 1/3 of the country under its control and leadership and, while continuing the armed struggle, is currently negotiating an U.N.-sponsored peace agreement with the Government.

In addition to Dr. Gomez, the meeting was attended by Rev. David Kalke, International General Secretary, Roger Wareham, Second International General Secretary, and Adolfo Miranda Saenz, representative for the Central American region. The full International Executive Committee of the AICT will meet in El Salvador in mid-July to consolidate its plans for the coming year.

Harriet Tubman

"A RAILROAD OF RESISTANCE"



Developing and Training Military Cadre Inside the revolutionary Center

Our present problem as soldiers is to protect our political people at their work and enforce the increasing demands that the people, as a political result, will make upon power. The soldier is the counter-terrorist, the bodyguard, the first of a military vanguard. The distance between him and the class enemy is a free fire zone. He has to be the baddest and strongest of our kind: calm, sure, self-possessed, completely familiar with the fact that the only things that stand between Black men and violent death are the fast break, quick draw and snap shot. Terrible Jonathans, teathed on the political jungles of the planet - Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles, San Francisco - tested in a dozen fires. "Tall, slim youth...The new nigger, with a gun and eyes of the hunter, the hunter of men."

Comrade George Jackson,
Blood in My Eye, 1971

Revolutionary soldiers in each period of revolutionary struggle are confronted with the objective reality of developing strategy and tactics for winning the revolutionary war.

scientifically. The application of dialectical analysis and self-criticism is the only method to correct incorrect military practices: overcaution, adventurism and lack of confidence, common tendencies among inexperienced cadre. By uneven development we mean varying and divergent levels of political and military experiences which compromise the unit's military decisiveness, precision and coordination of skills during military actions.

The first stage of grasping correct military principles is an understanding of theoretical laws of strategy and tactics and knowing your enemy's total (essence) weaknesses and strengths, as well as your own. Mao Tse-Tung said, "Neither a beginner nor a person who fights only on paper can become a really able high-ranking commander; only one who has learned through actual fighting in war can do so." Mao's principle must concretely be applied through conscious struggle, (put into practice) to change the material conditions of the captive Black

Only through the relentless struggle to change objective reality do leadership and frontline cadre emerge...

Crucial to this objective is the ability to identify and stamp out subjective tendencies that lead to military errors. Pinpointing the cadres' subjective weaknesses and uneven development is a constant struggle for the leadership and first line cadre which they must approach

Nation. It is only through the relentless struggle of fighting to change objective reality that leadership and first line cadre emerge and become adept at military science, armed struggle and socialist revolution.

Cadres' lack of military

experience and uneven development cannot be compensated for by political theory, gusto or adventurism. Correct military theory and practice is the only criterion for truth. Military cadre must be tested time and time again until they have struggled to build a predictable and productive cell that has built a character of "Unity of Will and Action to Win."

Uneven development and inexperience are not new phenomena for revolutionaries. Throughout the history of revolutionary struggle for socialism, land and independence, cadre have brought to revolutionary centers divergent views and attributes to building and molding cells and units for protracted war and armed struggle. It is the responsibility of the military leadership (commanders) to guide and consolidate the subjective conditions for growth and development of inexperienced cadre. By growth and development we mean proceeding and struggling through a dialectical process of training and practice to become par excellence revolutionary soldiers in combat training, research and development, ideological struggle, and professional guerilla fighters in revolutionary war. New cadre must begin training at a standard and level that is above average.

From the beginning the party's military and political leadership must be decisive and particular as to who qualifies for the first line and second line military cadre. These comrades

cadre is never an overnight success story. Building and consolidating the party's clandestine political and military organizational structure and internal apparatus above ground and below ground is a tit for tat, day to day struggle of constantly applying dialectical materialism to the objective conditions of revolutionary struggle. Critical subjective factors such as cadres' perception, cognition, instinct, creative foresight and hindsight, and courage are essential attributes necessary to building armed propaganda military cells and units. It is the responsibility of the military leadership (commanders) to recognize these subjective qualities, cultivate them and stamp out tendencies that hinder and compromise correct disciplined development so as to increase the cadres' victories and materialist courage of "We will Win." The party's objective is to win every military action, battle, or confrontation. All military actions must be well-planned, not cumbersome, but simple and executed with a tenacious fighting spirit and vigilance of the enemy's constant presence, and having the military capability to destroy and win convincingly.

During the infancy of building the party's clandestine military cells, the party's leadership must constantly analyze and critique the successes and failures of all military work. The end results, positive or negative, of military work is not determined

Military victories start from relentless and meticulous training and preparation for war...

must represent the core leadership of the party. Their concrete practice politically and militarily are the models; they are the future leaders of the vanguard revolutionary war to overthrow and smash monopoly finance capitalism and imperialism. These cadre (soldiers) are the vanguard party's most disciplined, most ideologically astute, most militarily seasoned, most loyal to the party's leadership and the most courageous and unwavering in revolutionary war. Constituting the leadership of the party's military command, these comrades must embody in their total being the life and future of the party's line and epitomize esprit de corps with a tenacious fighting spirit of freedom or death.

They must be trained and tested by the party's military leadership prior to participating in major military actions. Training consists of having spent numbers of hours in the party's military school under the leadership of the party's military commanders. These revolutionary soldiers are the new, true communist freedom fighters, the people's servants, inside the citadel of monopoly finance capitalism and imperialism.

The building process of an adept, accomplished, militarily trained

by luck or omnipotent faith. Military victories start from relentless and meticulous training and preparation for war. But all of this will be for naught if the leadership and cadres's style of work is not guided by dialectical materialism and the laws of military science particular to urban guerilla warfare.

Military cadre must also be steeped in the party's line and constantly struggle to master military principles of strategy and tactics to win every military mission.

When the cadre are carrying out military work they must guard against the three sin sisters: adventurism, lack of confidence and overcaution. In form, each one of these tendencies are different, but their essence originates from the same fundamental contradiction: a lack of discipline, fierce training and constant practice in the dialectics of military science and revolutionary war. *This inexperience amongst cadre is commonly expressed by irrational responses: fear, individualism, over-intellectualizing, lack of faith in the masses and mechanistic logic.* Because of inexperience in military work, lacking a concrete history, and the failure to internalize military principles of guerilla warfare, inexperienced, young cadre quickly

Developing and Training Military Cadre...

abandon their training and confidence in the military plan. Fear sets in and cadres' immediate instincts are dominated by irrational responses to war. Their entire mental preoccupation is no longer centered on winning but on the likelihood of failure. The primary reason for this mental slippage is that comrades have not radically ruptured from the idea that bourgeois democracy is counterrevolutionary and detrimental to them and their families' survival.

In the development of the revolutionary center's military training program, leadership has the dual responsibility of being master in both military theory and the practice of revolutionary war. It is tolerable, temporarily, that within the leadership there may exist uneven development. The objective and subjective struggle amongst leadership must be to make themselves excellent in every aspect of military warfare. The struggle to eradicate uneven development must be fierce and relentless. The particular contradictions against which leadership must be vigilant are:

Adventurism: adventurism is the bull-headed, gangster, or T.V. approach to military actions. The primary motivation is to get the job done at any expense, without a scientific plan for attack and escape in order to win.

Sectarianism: sectarianism is military elitism; the view that one unit is more advanced and therefore superior to all other units.

Overcautiousness: overcautiousness is when cadre lose sight of a method and plan in revolutionary actions and concentrate only on the enemy's strengths and not his weaknesses. It is most commonly a manifestation of fear of defeat in particular military battles and therefore losing the revolution.

Lack of Confidence: lack of confidence is the sister of being overly cautious. The difference is that the fear is much stronger in scope and cadre's commitment to revolution is in question because they believe the revolution will not be successful because the enemy is too strong.

Individualism: individualism is putting the needs, goals, aspirations and love of the individual before and above the cadre and the masses.

Ultrademocracy: Ultrademocracy is the misconception that leadership comes from below and not above. It is also linked to the erroneous assumption that it is better to be liked by everyone than to be disliked.

Absentmindedness: absentmindedness is an undisciplined manner of mental struggling in attempting to make revolution, a total disciplined lifestyle in every aspect of cadres' lives, but cadre refuse to break with a bourgeois state of being as opposed to that of an iron-willed revolutionary. Forgetting and misplacing are mental oversights that are directly attributed to mental laziness.

Subjectivism: subjectivism is the inability of cadre to deal with self-criticism and objective truth, and a lack of discipline in struggling with the dynamics of revolutionary change and its relationship to subjective and objective phenomenon.

Revolutionary war is the highest stage of political struggle for party cadre. The war for national liberation and the proletarian class war is a protracted war for the total political and economic transformation of the captive Black nation from colonialism and imperialist domination to socialism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Ideological education and military training for all cadre must be of the highest standard possible to prepare experienced and inexperienced soldiers for the unretractable life and death struggle of revolutionary war. The training process, timetables, locations, instructors, curriculum, tests and administration will constantly change due to the objective conditions of war. The level of military and ideological training will be commensurate to the military and ideological level of development of the leadership in the party. If the party's leadership is liberal, undisciplined, academic and weak-kneed, then they can only produce a second line cadre that is a mirror of them. The standard that leadership must struggle to set is the highest quality possible for the revolution, for the party and for the Black Nation.

Mao states:

To learn is no easy matter and to apply what one has learned is even harder. Many people appear impressive when discoursing on military science in classrooms or in books, but when it comes to actual fighting, some win battles and others lose them. In real life, we cannot ask for "ever victorious generals" who are few and far between in history. What we can ask for is generals who are brave and sagacious, who combine wisdom with courage. To become both wise and courageous one must acquire a method, a method to be employed in learning as well as in applying what has been learned.

The ultimate task and test for struggling young New Afrikan revolutionaries is to make socialist revolution their total life, being and essence, to internalize the principles of freedom or death for the success of the captive Black Nation's socialist revolution. This dialectical truism will take many twists, turns, upheavals, and leaps. Each cadre, each unit, each battalion must resolve and remain steeled through the protracted war until their last breath.

FREEDOM OR DEATH



EDITORIAL

ARM THE MASSES

"the era of the Masses, people's power which places all authority, wealth and arms in the hands of the People"

Arm the Masses political line is revolutionary nationalism and socialism for the Black Nation, 40 million Africans captured inside the racist, capitalist USA.

Arm the Masses views the struggle of 40 million Africans in Amerikkka as an integral part of the worldwide struggle for socialism in Africa, the Caribbean and the Americas.

The kidnapping of African people from Africa, the distribution of their human labor, humanity and the destabilization of their culture throughout the West Indies and North Amerikkka established the material basis for the worldwide exploitation and oppression of African people. These atrocities politically, militarily as well as economically represented some of the most egregious atrocities ever.

These realities are fundamental to Arm the Masses political unity with the vision and agitational slogan developed by Kwame Nkrumah that "Africa Must Unite" to strike a death blow against colonialism, apartheid and imperialism. A united Africa would pose a serious threat to colonialism and totally alter the balance of power for Black Africans worldwide.

Nkrumah was not the sole proponent of this politic and vision. Amilcar Cabral and Patrice Lumumba were also great Pan African patriots in practice. The total liberation of Africa and African people worldwide was their political life. Consistent with their revolutionary zeal was an analysis that was not solely determined by racial identity alone.

The harsh realities of balkanization and tribalism

demand a more scientific and dialectical analysis of Africa's oppression. Africa was raped politically and economically by Europe. Ideologically and militarily Africa had been penetrated and totally divided. Revolutionary nationalism had been replaced with tribalism, which immediately became reactionary nationalism and counter-revolutionary.

The mistake or error in politics was that the political line of a unified Africa emerged from national identity alone and not from a class analysis and consciousness of who were friends and enemies to Black Africa's revolution. The response to oppression was primarily subjected to an appeal to the spontaneity of anger and hate rather than overthrowing the political-economic systems and taking control of the means of production.

Because of this blind political analysis, the successes of colonialism and imperialism were massive to Africans and Africans' struggle worldwide.

Patrice Lumumba in his classic work, Congo, My Country, laid the ideological framework from whence Pan-Africanism must be viewed. In his conception of the relationship between nationalism and racialism, Lumumba made a distinct contribution. He differentiated between what he called true and false nationalism. "A man without any nationalist tendencies is a man

without pole...what we have to avoid in our country is false nationalism. The cramped nationalism which conceals forms of racialism and hatred for those of another race..."

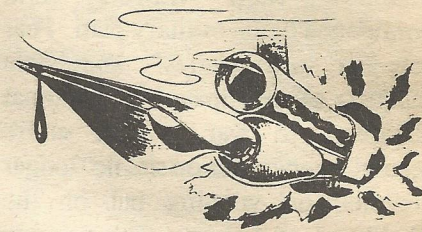
"This struggle against racist nationalism can only be effective if we are able to abolish its causes. The nationalism displayed by the African is often, if not always, the result of provocations and injustices. We see that reactionary nationalism is always the price paid for a racist policy... the racialism of the colored people is always preceded by the racialism of the colonizing country...It is always the stronger man who blazes the trail, and the weaker only follows."

Lumumba was a true Pan-Africanist who clearly understood the objective realities of Africa in his quest for a United Africa and vehemently fought for the necessity of a United Front of all Africans for the liberation of Africa. Pivotal to Lumumba's analysis is the issue of class consciousness and revolutionary nationalism.

Dialectically speaking it is essential that Pan Africanists analyze world phenomena and have a clear understanding of the role of economic, class struggle and national liberation.

This is the central theme of Pan-Africanism which Nkrumah, Lumumba and Cabral valiantly struggled for.

Under Nkrumah's leadership



Ghana would lead a movement of Black men for Pan Africanism including periodic conferences and personal contracts from the Sahara to the Indian Ocean. The idea of the Pan African Congresses was to include delegates from all groups, especially from the African Congresses. The ideological direction was to build a socialism founded on old African communal life, rejecting the hand of private property of the west.

Concerning the Question of Strategy and Tactics of Revolutionary Pan Africanism

Political strategy, as well as tactics is directly tied to the peasants, the workers, the toiling masses as opposed to the elites. The strategy of revolutionary Pan Africans must be preceded by a revolutionary theory that provides a scientific formula of the role of organizations, parties, and armies, and building true state power for the popular masses.

The total liberation and unification of Africa under an All-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring the fulfillment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere. It will at the same time advance the triumph of the international socialist revolution.

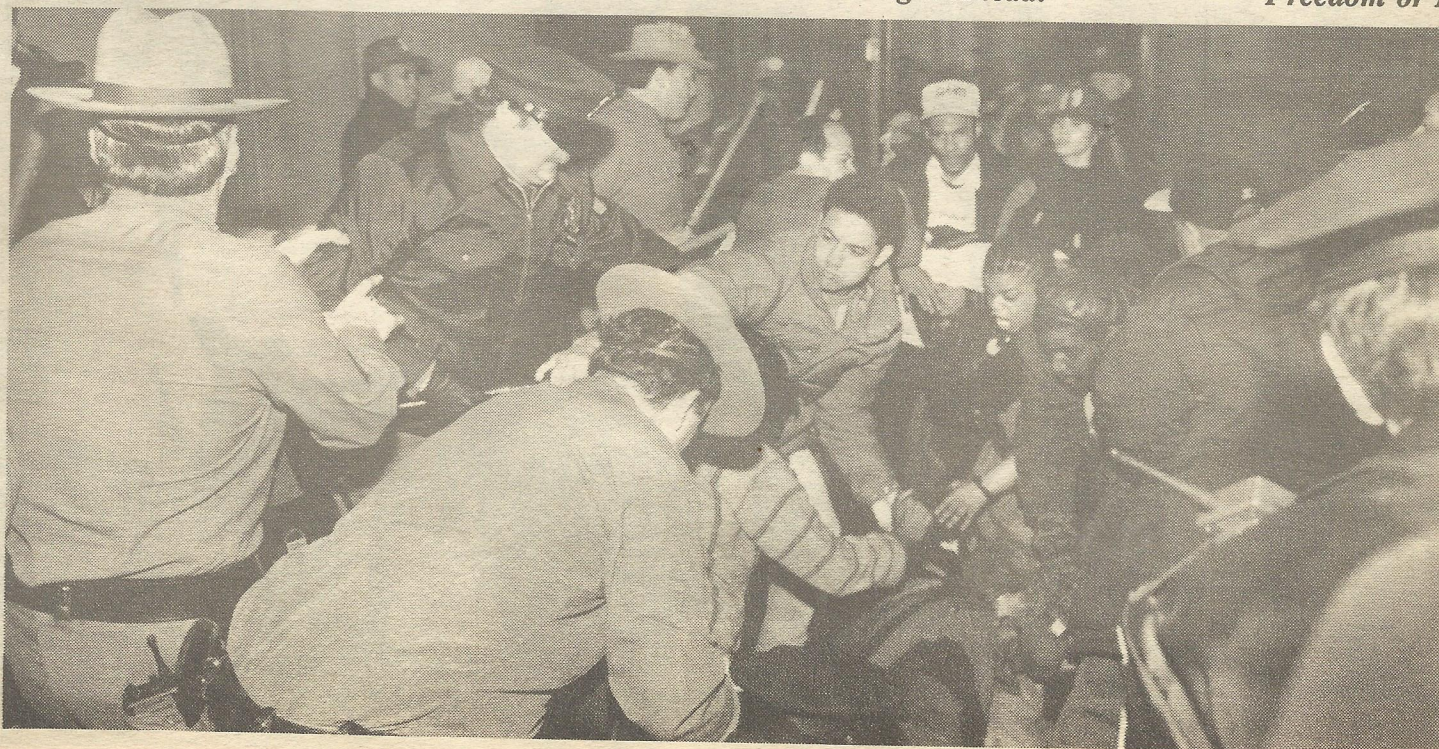
Kwame Nkrumah

Arm the Masses is committed to being the voice of the oppressed Black masses worldwide and stands ready to serve African revolutions worldwide.

Arm the Black African Masses for Socialist Revolution!

Straight Ahead!

Freedom or Death!



History teaches us:

The Masses Make Revolution; The Party Makes Them Conscious

There is nothing startling or outside of the history of oppressed nations' resistance about the fact that the masses of people make revolution, that is make history, and those sprung from them into leadership, into the vanguard, struggle to make the masses conscious of their mission.

Political analysts, philosophers and military generals alike, constantly prove that oppression breeds resistance. The demand by the masses to be free is an objective response to those contradictions of life. This struggle against oppression, to paraphrase Amílcar Cabral, is not for ideas but to change the quality of their material life. It is in this process that the conditions develop the leadership, that person, that group, that class whose leadership, because of their relationship to oppression, emerges.

Seemingly the mass of people are silent, going about their lives as if they failed to realize that there is a need for a movement for freedom. In this milieu the indifference of some, due to lack of faith in the ability of others, drives the advanced to take up the question at first of educating the masses, then of

organizing, and then the inevitable fight for freedom.

National liberation leadership combats many theories aimed at the maintenance of the status quo, or the same wolf, as Malcolm says, in sheep's clothing. These theories perpetuated by the oppressor, the ruling class, find firm ground in colonial nations, for the first onslaught is the destruction of the nation's culture and thereby the creation of a base for a theory(ies) of domination and denial of a people's right to self-determination.

The vanguard must bring the people to understand that national independence sheds light upon many facts which are divergent and sometimes antagonistic. The destruction of culture has as its tour de force the creation of a people so dehumanized, so selfless in determining their own being, that they are at the complete disposal of those for whom they are created. What this will indeed ensure is the total exploitation of their labor, the unchallenged ownership of all other means of production, and the products and necessities of life.

The advanced sector of the oppressed nation, through education of the masses, through the

development of their ability to become the telescope of the people's movement, will bare the role that culture plays as an act of liberation.

The task of bringing the people to the need for and understanding of revolution is made easier by the thoroughness of organizing by the advanced and the level of its commitment to the people. Leadership honed and developed in actual practice in all spheres cannot but direct the course of the people's history. In each oppressed nation the objective conditions present themselves in forms particular to their national existence and for the oppressed African the subjective factors as a result of the attack on culture seek to resolve these contradictions within the parameters set by those who oppress them.

Samora Machel, in a speech to the combatants of FRELIMO, [the national liberation movement of Mozambique], taught that for Mozambique to develop its leadership in the fight for freedom that it (Mozambique) must die a tribe and be born a nation.

"The nationalist militant who had fled from the town in disgust at the demagogic and reformist maneuvers of the leaders there, disappointed by

political life, discovers in real action a new form of political activity which in no way resembles the old. These politics are the politics of leaders and organizers living inside history who take the lead with their brains and their muscles in the fight for freedom," writes Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth*. He concludes, "these politics are national, revolutionary and social and these facts the masses will come to know and be led by."

There can be no doubt that every oppressed person is capable of looking critically at those conditions of his/her being and provided with the proper tools will perceive his/her personal and social being as well as the contradictions in it, become conscious of that reality and deal critically with it. It is the task of the vanguard to unmask, decamouflage, the concrete conditions that exist and cause the wretched existence of the lives of the masses, have absolute faith that once bared, it (the vanguard) will be perceived as the objective necessity to lead the revolutionary war for national and social liberation.





Africans and World Revolution



The African Revolution is fundamental to transforming the quality of life for Africans on the Continent, in the diaspora, and the masses worldwide, because it is in Africa that Imperialism, colonialism, and Zionism have hatched their most insidious schemes; and where it will meet its ultimate defeat.

MARXISM IN AFRICA

by Walter Rodney

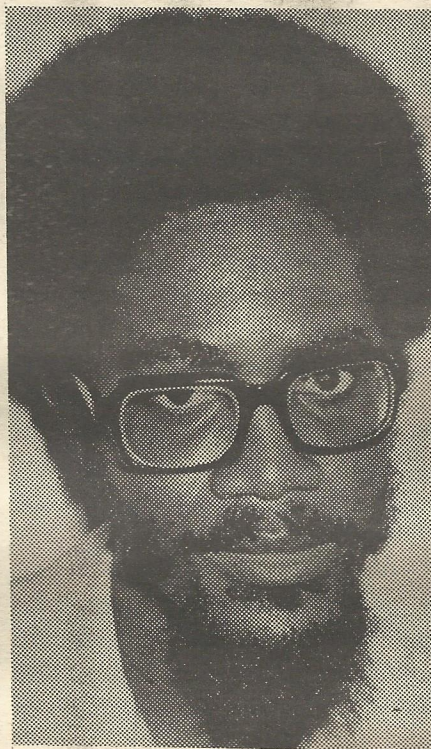
African people, like other Third World, have virtually a vested interest in scientific socialism because it offers itself to them as a weapon of theory. It offers itself to them as that tool, at the level of ideas, which will be utilized for dismantling the capitalist imperialist structure. This is its concern.

What I will attempt to deal with as best I can, are certain questions arising from individuals who might say yes to most of what I've said and then will ask the question, "Is there no other alternative? Is there no other ideological system which is neither capitalist nor socialist, but is anti-capitalist, but addresses itself more humanely, if you like, to the interest of African people wherever they are?" These questions are worth looking into because there are Black people asking these questions and we have to try to resolve them. My own formulation will be to suggest that we look at concrete examples of African or Black people who have attempted to devise systems which they consider to be non-capitalist and non-socialist. Systems they consider are valid

alternatives to scientific socialism for the emancipation of African people.

In this regard we have a number of pan-Africanists, a number of African nationalists in Africa, in the Caribbean and in this country, who have taken that road. George Padmore did this at the end of his life, and made a sort of distinction between scientific socialism and pan-Africanism. He said this is the road we will follow: pan-Africanism. We do not want to go that road which is capitalist; we do not want to go the socialist road, we will derive for ourselves something that is pan-African.

In a sense Nkrumah followed up upon this and although at one time he called himself a Marxist, he always was careful to qualify this by saying that he was also a Protestant. He believed in Protestantism at the same time. So simultaneously he was trying to straddle two worlds: the world which says in the beginning was matter and the world which says in the beginning there was the word. And inevitably he fell between these two. But there he was, and we must grant his honesty



Walter Rodney, one of the Caribbean's most articulate scholars, dedicated his life to uplifting the quality of life for Black people internationally. He was assassinated by the Guyanese dictator Forbes Burnham.

and we must grant the honesty of many people who have attempted to do this impossible task and follow them to find out why they failed. They failed because their conception of what a variant different from bourgeois thought and different from socialist thought inevitably turned out to be merely another branch of bourgeois thought. And this was the problem, that bourgeois thought and indeed socialist thought, when we get down to it, can have a variety of developments or roads and aspects or paths. Bourgeois thought because of its whimsical nature and because of the way in which it promotes eccentrics, you can have any road in bourgeois thought because, after all, when you are not going any place you can choose any road!

So for bourgeois thought it was possible for these individuals to make what I consider to be a genuine attempt to break with the dominance of bourgeois thought and yet find in the final analysis that they have merely embraced another manifestation of that which they themselves at the outset had suggested that they were confronting.

There are a number of examples, some more apt than others. Some of the examples actually are Africans who I think, were blatantly dishonest from the beginning. I do think that most of the ideologues of African socialism claiming to find a third path are actually just cheap tricksters who are attempting to hoodwink the majority of the population. I don't think they're out to develop anything that addresses itself to the interest of African people. But nevertheless, it is part of the necessity of our times that our people no longer are willing to accept anything that is not put to them in the guise of socialism.

And therefore I shan't in fact go on to African socialism. What I'll do is take examples of those who were in my opinion, being serious,

being honest. And certainly Kwame Nkrumah was one of these. Nkrumah spent a number of years during the fifties and right up to when he was overthrown - that would cover at least ten years - in which he was searching for an ideology. He started out with this mixture of Marxism and Protestantism, he talked about pan-Africanism, he went to consciencism and Nkrumahism, and there was everything other than a straight understanding of socialism.

What were the actual consequences of this perception? That is what matters to us. Let us assume that he was searching for something African and that he was trying to avoid the trap of adopting something alien. What were the practical consequences of his attempt to dissociate himself from an international socialist tradition? We saw in Ghana that Nkrumah steadfastly refused to accept that there were classes, that there were class contradictions in Ghana, that these contradictions were fundamental. For years Nkrumah went along with this mish-mash of philosophy, which took some socialist premises but in which he refused to pursue it to its logical conclusion, in which he would accept that one either had a capitalist system based upon the private ownership of the means of production and the alienation of the product of people's labor or one had an alternative system which was completely different and that there was no way of juxtaposing and mixing these two to create anything that was new and viable.

A most significant test of this position was when Nkrumah himself was overthrown! After he was overthrown, he lived in Guinea-Konakry and before he died he wrote a small text *Class Struggle in Africa*. It not the greatest philosophical treatise but it is

continued on page 14

National Liberation is An Act of Culture

by Amilcar Cabral

Excerpts from the Eduardo Mondlane Memorial Lecture, delivered at Syracuse University, New York, February 1970

National liberation,
An act of culture

There is a close, dependent and reciprocal connection existing between the cultural factor and the economic (and political) factor in the behavior of human societies. In fact, at every moment of the life of a society, (open or closed), culture is the result, with more or less awakened consciousness, of economic and political activities, the more or less dynamic expression of the type of relations prevailing within that society, on the one hand between man (considered individually or collectively) and nature, and, on the other hand, among individuals, groups of

individuals, social strata or classes.

The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation, on the ideological or idealist level, of the material and historical reality of the society that is dominated or to be dominated. Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history, by the positive or negative influence it exerts on the evolution of relations between man and his environment and among men or human groups within society, as well as between different societies. Ignorance of this fact might explain the failure of several attempts at foreign domination as well as the failure of some national liberation movements.

Let us examine what national liberation is. We shall consider this phenomenon of history in its

continued on page 14

CHE GUEVARA'S Notes on Africa

Excerpts from an article by Maria del Carmen Ariet Garcia in Tricontinental

The present work is a study of some of the problems presented by Ernesto Che Guevara regarding Africa. It takes into account the historical context in which those problems were brought forth and assesses their corresponding place in the theories developed by Che.

Despite the fact that Che's criteria on Africa were expressed more than 20 years ago, the current validity of his interpretations shows their depth and his ability to penetrate into great contradictions. Che saw the world developing at the same time as part of it was stagnating. This, he affirmed, is not a casual phenomenon but corresponds to the nature of the developed capitalist system in full expansion that transfers the most abusive and unmasked forms of exploitation to the dependent countries. This can only be understood when you take into account the might of the monopolies: they are the true representatives of the masters of these countries - and on occasions of a whole continent - because they reach a degree of domination so strong that they practically do away with the political power in many of the republics that make up their sphere of interests.

He poses that all dependent countries have a common denominator; they are monoproducers and therefore a monomarket. What does underdevelopment mean then?

We are countries with an economy distorted by the imperial activity, which in an abnormal way has developed the industries or the agricultural branches necessary to complement its own complex economy. The "underdevelopment" or the distorted development leads to a dangerous specialization in raw materials, which threatens all our peoples with famine. We, the "underdeveloped" are also the ones with the monoculture, the monoproduct, the monomarket, one sole product whose uncertain sale depends on one sole market which imposes and sets the conditions - this is the great formula of the imperial domination that accords with the old and ever young Roman motto: divide and rule."

This general picture is valid for all countries whose development is not complete. They should therefore all unite in order to achieve what is most sacred - freedom, economic well-being and the assurance that there is no problem that cannot be overcome. Moreover, the knowledge that with the everyday work it is possible to reach your aims without anyone blocking the path.

Summed up, revolutionary

changes is the only possible answer to the imperialist power and the capitalist system in general, whose potential lies mainly in the monopolistic extraterritorial control which it exerts through unequal exchange and political subjection of vast territories where it pours out the the most important part of its contradictions. When the dependent countries free themselves from the monopolistic shackles and establish new, more just systems, then these countries will no longer have to fill the pockets of the imperialist power but can dedicate these resources to their own benefit. The then forced out finance capital will have to look for new horizons to substitute the ones lost, and in this struggle who will lose the most is the United States.

Che maintained that the road to liberation is full of dangers. As long as imperialism exists, it will, because of its nature, exert its domination over other countries. That domination, in its new shapes, is neocolonialism.

The true history of this form of exploitation, Che repeated, was first developed in South America and later extended, with increasing intensity, to Africa and Asia. Its forms of penetration and development vary. One is no doubt the brute force, without consideration nor disguise, which is its ultimate weapon. But there is also another more subtle one: political penetration in liberated countries. Here the strategy is to ally with the emerging national

bourgeoisies, creating a parasitic bourgeoisie closely linked to foreign capital interests. At first this situation is favored by a certain degree of well-being or transitory raising of the standard of living for the population, because in very backward countries the simple step from feudal to capitalist relations implies a great advance, independent of the fatal consequences this process will have for the workers in the long run.

Regarding the concrete case of Africa, said Che, the aim is to give it the same destiny as that of Latin America: a weak central government and an alliance with the bourgeoisie and the army. The still weak emerging national bourgeoisie should confront the double pressure from on the one hand the imperialist interest and, and on the other, that from the most advanced forces ready to fight for a more just distribution of the wealth. In this dilemma, some bourgeoisies make common cause with imperialism and become their appendices, transmitting this quality to the governments that represent them. This observation, of enormous importance, points out a kind of dependence which, skillfully used, endangers the serious achievements of any country.



Africa has the characteristics of untried land for the neocolonial invasion, when the changes that to some degree forced the new powers to give up their old prerogatives of absolute character became evident. Nevertheless, when these changes come about without violence, they are followed by a neocolonialism of the same effects regarding the economic domination. Another relevant aspect to be taken into account in the context of Africa is that the United States had no colonies in this region, but had by then already decided to penetrate into the former preserves of its partners. In this regard, Che says, you can affirm that Africa, in the strategic plans of US imperialism, constitutes its long-term reserve. At that moment its investments were of importance only in South Africa, but its penetration already began in the Congo, Nigeria and other countries, where a violent competition with

other imperialist powers was beginning. The US still didn't have any greater interests to defend, "except its supposed right to intervene in any part of the world where its monopolies could smell a good profit or the existence of great reserves of raw material."

By then, neocolonialism had pulled out its claws in the Congo, with the force as economic argument, but it was also projecting in a more subtle way in a series of countries. Thus occurred "what some have called the South Americanization of these continents; that is, the development of a parasitic bourgeoisie adding nothing to the national wealth but on the contrary depositing their huge ill-gotten gains in capitalist banks outside the country and making pacts with foreigners to obtain more benefits, with absolute disregard for the well-being of their people."

continued on page 16

Kidnapped Libyan Troops To Land on US Soil

By Omowale Clay

The United States' reactionary policy of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries and their constant attempts to destabilize and eventually topple the government of Libyan leader Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, was recently exposed on an international scale.

Over 600 Libyan soldiers and officers were kidnapped from Chad just prior to the overthrow of its pro-US government under President Hissen Habre, by rebel forces friendly to Libya under the leadership of General Idris Deby.

These soldiers had been captured during a border war between Chad and Libya, and held as prisoners of war. And it was during their imprisonment that the American CIA used fear and coercion in an attempt to form them into a para-military force to be used against the Libyan government.

However with the imminent overthrow of the Chadean government and repatriation of the troops to Libya, the US govern-

ment's conspiracy would have been exposed, so these prisoners of war were kidnapped.

First taken to Zaire, under the reactionary leadership of President Mobuto, the soldiers were held while Mobuto was being offered bribe money for the soldiers to be allowed to stay. When Mobuto couldn't get the deal he wanted, and under political pressure from the openly exposed violation of international law the US was propagating, Mobuto reneged, ordering the soldiers to leave. However, Mobuto did allow Libyan foreign officers to visit their soldiers and 250 were convinced to return home.

After a failed attempt at sending the soldiers to the Congo, (not enough money and too much political pressure again), it has now been reported that the US will be the new home for these Libyan soldiers.

This whole episode only reveals the insidious nature of the US's real foreign policy and total disrespect for the UN and its body of law.

Scientific Socialism Integral to Change

continued from page 12

historically important, because it is there Nkrumah himself in effect admits the consequences, the misleading consequences of that position. Because Nkrumah denied the existence of classes in Ghana until the petty bourgeoisie as a class overthrew him. And then, in Guinea, he said it was a terrible mistake. Yes, the petty bourgeoisie is a class with interests fundamentally opposed to workers and peasants in Africa. Yes, the class interests of the petty bourgeoisie are the same or at least are tied in with the class interests of international monopoly capital and therefore we have in Africa a class struggle within the African continent and a struggle against imperialism. And if we are to aim at transcending

these contradictions, of bringing victory and emancipation to the working peoples, the producers of Africa, we will have to grapple with that ideology, which first of all recognizes and, challenges the existence of exploiting and oppressing classes.

It's a very important historical document. It is the closest that Nkrumah comes to a self-critique. It is the record of a genuine nationalist, African nationalist who wandered for years with this assumption and feeling that somehow he must dissociate himself in one way or another, from scientific socialism because it originated outside the boundaries of his own society and he was afraid of its cultural implications. That is putting it in

the most charitable way. But the fear is due, in fact, to aspects of bourgeois ideology. Due to the fact that he made a distinction between social theory and scientific theory, which is not a necessary distinction. That is the distinction which comes out of the history of bourgeois thought.

Cabral... looking at the particularities of class development in contemporary Guinea-Bissau, at the potential of classes in Guinea-Bissau,... made sure that Marxism does not simply appear as the summation of other people's history, but appears as a living force within one's history, and this is a difficult transformation. This is the task of anybody who considers himself or herself a Marxist. However, because it is fraught with so many difficulties and obstacles, many people take the easy route, which is to take it as a finished product rather than an ongoing special product which has to be adapted to their own society.

One finds that in looking at this Marxist theory, at its relevance to race, looking at the relevance of

Marxist theory to national emancipation, we come up with a very important paradox. And it is this, that the nationalist, in the strict sense of the word, that is the petty bourgeois nationalist, who aims merely at the recovery of national independence in our epoch, is incapable of giving the peoples of the Caribbean any participation in liberal democracy. The petty-bourgeoisie cannot fulfill these historical tasks. For national liberation requires a socialist ideology. We cannot separate the two. Even for national liberation in Africa, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique very clearly demonstrated the necessity for an ideological development, for consciencization, as they say in Latin America and, the nationalist struggle was won because it came under the rubric of a scientific socialist perspective.

As Cabral said, "There may be revolutions which have had a revolutionary theory and which have failed. But there have certainly been no revolutions which have succeeded without a revolutionary theory."

National Liberation is An Act of Culture

continued from page 12

contemporary context, that is national liberation in the face of imperialist domination. The latter is, as we know, distinct both in form and content from preceding types of foreign domination (tribal, military-aristocratic, feudal and capitalist domination in the age of free competition.)

The principal characteristic, common to every kind of imperialist domination, is the denial of the historical process of the dominated people by means of violent usurpation of the freedom of the process of development of the productive forces. Now, in a given society, the level of development of the productive forces and the system

of social utilization of these forces (system of ownership) determine the *mode of production*. In our view, the mode of production, whose contradictions are manifested with more or less intensity through class struggle, is the principal factor in the history of any human whole, and the level of productive forces is the true and permanent motive force of history.

For every society, for every human group considered as a dynamic whole, the level of the productive forces indicates the status reached by the society and each of its components in the face of nature, its capacity to act or react consciously in relation to nature. It

indicates and conditions the type of material relations (expressed objectively or subjectively) existing between man and his environment.

Culture, whatever the ideological or idealist characteristics of its expression, is thus an essential element of the history of a people. Culture is, perhaps, the resultant of this history just as the flower is the resultant of a plant. Like history, or because it is history, culture has as its material base the level of the productive forces and the mode of production. Culture plunges its roots into the humus of the material reality of the environment in which it develops, and it reflects the organic nature of the society, which may be more or less influenced by external factors. History enables us to know the nature and extent of imbalances and the conflicts (economic, political and social) that characterize the evolution of a society. Culture enables us to know what dynamic syntheses have been formed and set by social awareness in order to resolve these conflicts at each stage of evolution of that society, in the search for survival and progress.

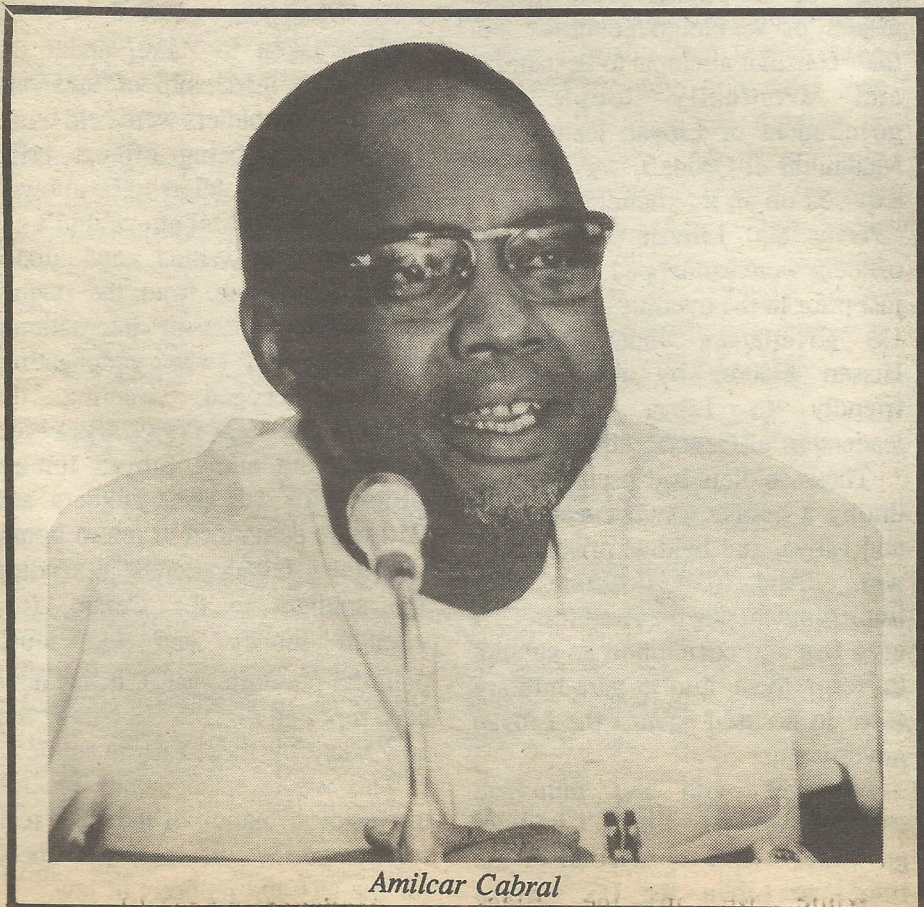
Just as occurs with the flower in a plant, the capacity (or responsibility) for forming and fertilizing the germ which ensures the continuity of history lies in culture, and the germ simultaneously ensures the prospects for evolution and progress of the society in question. Thus it is understood that imperialist domination, denying to the dominated people their own historical process, necessarily denies their cultural process. It is further understood why the exercise of imperialist domination, like all other foreign domination, for its own security requires cultural oppression and the attempt at direct or indirect destruction of the essential elements of culture of the dominated people.

Study of the history of liberation struggle shows that they have generally been preceded by an

upsurge of cultural manifestations, which progressively harden into an attempt, successful or not, to assert the cultural personality of the dominated people by an act of denial of the culture of the oppressor. Whatever the conditions of subjection of a people to foreign domination and the influence of economic, political and social factors in the exercise of this domination, it is generally within the cultural factor that we find the germ of challenge which leads to the structuring and development of the liberation movement.

In our view, the foundation of national liberation lies in the inalienable right of every people to have their own history, whatever the formulations adopted in international law. The aim of national liberation is therefore to regain this right, usurped by imperialist domination, namely: the liberation of the process of development of the national productive forces. So national liberation exists when, and only when the national productive forces have been completely freed from all kinds of foreign domination. The liberation of productive forces and consequently of the ability freely to determine the mode of production opens up new prospects for the cultural process of the society in question, by returning to it all its capacity to create progress.

A people who free themselves from foreign domination will not be culturally free unless, without underestimating the importance of positive contributions from the oppressor's culture and other cultures, they return to the upward paths of their own culture. The latter is nourished by the living reality of the environment and rejects harmful influences as much as any kind of subjection to foreign culture. We see therefore that, if imperialist domination has the vital need to practice cultural oppression, national liberation is necessarily an *act of culture*.



Amílcar Cabral

BCM(Azanian) Examines Struggle in the Global Context

Presidential Address to the 9th Annual Congress, March 3, 1990, by the immediate Past President of AZAPO Comrade Nkosi Molala, reprinted from Azanian Socialist Review

In order to understand the present political state of our nation we must first understand the events and forces which have impacted on its evolution. In other words, the state of our nation is the result of factors whose origins are traceable to both the external and the internal forces. What is more, our struggle, like any other struggle of other people throughout the world, is waged not in isolation from but within the broader context of the global insurrection against oppression, exploitation, hunger and ignorance.

The so-called Cold War between the East and the West, or the Soviet Union and the USA, [which] are the two major players in the international arena of combat for global influence and control, has become so cold that the two countries can now embrace each other and conspire on the destinies of other people and nations.

To be sure, the Iran-Iraq war and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Middle-East, the Afghanistan accord and the Cambodian settlement in South-East Asia, the Frelimo-Renamo near-settlement and the Namibian total-settlement in Southern Africa serve only too well to illustrate the consummation of the marriage between the Soviet Union and the USA. And very typical of marriages concluded not in community of property, only one party emerges stronger and more superior. And that party is Western imperialism, represented here by the USA, imperialism will spare no effort, will pull out all stops, will employ subtle as well as gun-boat diplomacy, will deploy a whole array of sophisticated armoury and will also use the power of the dollar to maim and murder, kill and pound to pulp anyone who refuses to submit to its discipline, its control and its rule.

There is therefore no reason to believe that imperialism has not conspired to undermine and subvert our revolutionary struggle for national self-determination and socialism. In fact, imperialism initially concentrated its efforts in attempting to influence the political status quo away from the apartheid system via the South African regime. When the regime's intransigence repelled such efforts, imperialism shifted its influence to Black politics and here it unearthed Gatsha Buthelezi whose qualities matched its requirements. He was Black, fluent, politically astute, influential, his rhetoric was anti-government and he had a modicum of support.

Imperialism set out to deliberately increase his stature and, with it, his



influence and support. Gatsha's Zulu impis [armed gangs] are today an intractable and murderous machine. Today the Bishop Mokwenas fall into the category of minions of imperialism, fed and paid to halt the unstoppable wheel of revolution.

Awakened to the inexorable march and procession of the revolution in our country, imperialism has sought to acquire a foothold. To do this it has had to lend its weight behind calls made by progressive international organisations against the South African regime and then endear itself to the players involved in the act of making revolution.

Imperialism's aim in this regard is not only to gain an insight into the thinking of such players, but also to influence such thinking in the direction not harmful to its interests. [In Nicaragua] the recent invitations by imperialist representatives to some such players has [occurred at the same time as support has been stepped up and the imperialists have also begun to train members of this band in the most heinous methods of banditry, plunder and pillage.] Today, after subjecting the Sandinista government to a myriad of untold pressures which included isolation, ostracism and economic boycott, imperialism is hailing and singing hallelujahs to the outcome of the elections held this past week in Nicaragua ousting Daniel Ortega and conceding power to an imperialist backed presidential candidate.

Indeed, imperialism knows no other law but that which serves and promotes its own designs. Again, when he served and promoted the interests of imperialism, General Noriega of Panama in South America was a much toasted hero and respected statesman in the eyes of the US administration. But when he outlived his usefulness to imperialism and thought he could oppose it, General Noriega was brought down from grace and pomp and rendered a villain, to be hunted down and brought before the imperialist court of justice in the USA.

In spite of the marriage contract, imperialism continues to provide

sophisticated and advanced instruments of arms of war to UNITA [counterrevolutionary guerilla army under the leadership of Jonas Savimbi operating in Angola] - another of its many mercenary outfits strewn throughout the globe. Like the Contras, UNITA's brief is either to unseat the legitimate and sovereign government of the people of Angola or to render it incapable of pursuing socialist programs of reconstruction. And because UNITA's performance has not equalled expectations, imperialism has enlisted the diplomatic mediation of Sese Sekou Mobuto to work towards a negotiated settlement of the Angolan stalemate.

It has become exceedingly clear that the marriage contract notwithstanding, the Soviet Union's inferior position will be exacerbated by the political tempests blowing within the Soviet-bloc countries. Whereas it was able to raise verbal storms in the past in opposition to imperialism's global acts of banditry (and of course not going beyond that), the Soviet Union will find it exceedingly difficult to do so in the future. Last year cannot be seen outside the context of the broad programs of Imperialism. As for the Soviet Union, there could never exist any doubt about the radical

Consciousness Movement (BCM) acknowledge and commend the role and contribution the Soviet Union has made in the struggles of many peoples, we reserve the right to criticize and reject those opinions which parade as sacrosanct but damage the interests of our struggle. The BCM continues to applaud and welcome the positive contributions made by the Frontline States to our struggle. We are however, alive to the economic poundings these countries receive from both the apartheid regime and imperialism in order to reduce their capacity to offer further assistance. For this we salute them and urge them to fight on. As far as the internal situation is concerned, it is imperative to state that since 1976, Black people have demonstrated their willingness to fight.

Today, with a heightened level of political consciousness, that willingness to fight has assumed proportions of a serious magnitude. The task of the revolution is to harness this willingness so that, until Black people emerge as victors, there can be no peace, comfort and security for anyone in this country. Victory for Black people has, as its objective, the elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation and the establishment of peace,

Indeed imperialism knows no laws but that which serve and promote its own designs...

ideological shift it has effected in respect of the revolution as it relates particularly to our country. An intermittent out-pouring of statements emanating from one Mr. Staruschenko, deputy director of the Soviet foreign affairs desk for Southern Africa, confirmed the Soviet Union's desertion of armed struggle as a crucial component of class struggle. Mr. Staruschenko's discountenance of armed struggle in favor of a politically-based approach only to the resolution of conflict in our country, verges on a treacherous betrayal of our legitimate struggle of against oppression and exploitation.

While we in the Black

justice and brotherhood.

The recent reform programs of first P.W. Botha and then F.W. deKlerk must be placed in proper perspective. They are, first, the wages of the heroic sacrifices made by Black people in the crucible of struggle. And for this reason, Black people must be saluted and encouraged to step up their efforts to deliver the final and fatal blow into the body of the enemy. Secondly, they are the result of the deceptive collusion between the South African regime and the forces of imperialism. Whereas hundreds of tons of ink have been expended in

continued on page 19

Pan Africanist Congress

Foreign Minister: Details Party's Role

continued from page 4

DeKlerk created this most violent climate in the country and everyone is now saying it is he who should defend the violence. Yet, it is precisely he, who instigated this violent situation in the country and throughout southern Africa. This was the situation the PAC found the country in at the time they were banned.

On the Need for Autonomy

The Pan Africanist Congress took the position that to be an effective national liberation movement...a vanguard must develop its own program and not follow the enemy to keep the initiative regarding whatever developments take place in the country.

Therefore, the PAC rejected the idea of "rushing" into talks with the illegitimate apartheid regime. We resolved our priority was to establish ourselves on the grassroots level; and for the first 9 months after the unbanning that's exactly what we did.

We then moved toward having a democratic national congress which was held from December 7-19, 1990.

Elective delegates from over 250 branches attended the congress. Well over 200 other branches were represented. Additional representatives came from other mass organizations including students', workers', womens', vocational, health and social organizations.

At the conclusion of the Congress, PAC decided for 1991, our priorities must be the continued strengthening of ourselves at the grassroots level and working toward the formation of a broad-based united front.

On Rejection of Exploratory Talks

We also rejected the letter deKlerk wrote to us regarding exploratory talks. We rejected the idea of deKlerk engaging representatives of the oppressed individually, because we have no individual issues in Azania --- what we have to resolve is the question and issue of national liberation and self-determination.

Finally, we said the only issue we have to discuss is the establishment of an elected constituent assembly (via the process of one man, one vote), which should draw up the new constitution and what it should contain.

During the historic 1990 conference in Harare, Zimbabwe between the national executives of the ANC and PAC in a resolution we jointly rejected the multi-party conference put forth by the regime -- which means we collectively put the last nail in the coffin of multi-partyism.

On the other hand, we have brought forth a resolution that states the elective constituency assembly is the only mechanism for

democratizing our country, and it would lead to a constitution that would truly reflect the aspirations of the oppressed, dispossessed masses of Azania.

On the Establishment of the United Front

During the Harare Conference, we also agreed with our colleagues of the African National Congress, that [first] we collectively must establish a United Patriotic Front of all those organizations in the country that have a contradiction with the enemy; and secondly, accept the constituent assembly as the only mechanism to draw up the constitution.

PAC will be calling for a Patriotic Congress of the Oppressed in August of 1991 that will form the United Patriotic Front. This front will challenge the racist apartheid regime as a united front to bring about an elected constituency assembly.

The elected constituency assembly will be based on the principle of one man, one vote. Everyone over the

age of 18 will have the right to vote. Voting for the constituent assembly must be the basic [program] of political parties, and the political parties will be represented in the assembly based on the percentage of votes they receive. If they receive 30% of the votes, they will get 30% of the seats in the assembly.

PAC is challenging deKlerk's view that he's a reformist, that he wants to solve the problems of Azania; he has put forth his position and we have put forth ours.

On the Escalating Violence

On the question of the unprecedented escalation of violence that's taking place in our country, we must address ourselves to it. Internationally, it is being portrayed as "Black on Black," yet the imperialist media which claims to be investigative, which claims to be objective has never questioned why is it that the apartheid regime established Buffalo Battalion 32 in our country.

Buffalo Battalion 32 is made up

of the defunct army of FMLA of Angola, that is the army that is now operating inside our country. It is the elements of the Buffalo Battalion 32 that is going around massacring our people. The question is why was Buffalo Battalion 32 transferred from Angola and then used for a time in Namibia and is now being

employed in Azania against the people. Secondly, the South Africans have also formed another battalion that's being used to

destabilize our struggle. They provide weapons and training to those opposing forces which were used in Namibia for the sole purpose of massacring the people. Also they have organized a number of hit squads. One of the killer members of this hit squad has confessed that he was paid 1,000 pounds to do the killing by the South African Defense Forces.

We discussed this matter concerning the South African regime's instigation of this violence at Harare, and we resolved to start an international campaign to demand the disbanding of Buffalo Battalion 32, the secret squad formations of the apartheid regime, as well as the expulsion of all those who are not Azanian from our country.

CHE GUEVARA:

Notes on Africa

continued from page 13

In the face of this reality, Che maintains that the struggle against ourselves is often the most difficult one, because it is the expression of the internal contradictions of the economic, social and cultural - and therefore historical - reality of our countries. This is a fact that must not be ignored in a revolution if it is to be successful.

Che puts forth the need to know in depth the history of our peoples who, when subjected to imperialist domination, were victims of its violent action, which always exerts its influence on the process of developing the productive forces and the social structures, as well as on the contents and form of the liberation struggles. In conclusion, neocolonialism is nothing more than the direct domination through a political power in most parts made up of indigenous agents. The imperialist action is directed toward a local vassal of the ruling class of the dominating country.

Taking into account the characteristics of the continent, the changes in the social structure are not so marked in the countryside, because there the colonial character is basically maintained. This makes it obvious that the local pseudo-bourgeoisie has not been able to freely orient the development of the productive forces and could therefore not be a national bourgeoisie, which in practice is a guarantee for maintaining the imperialist domination.

Thus the conception that the national liberation is the right of all peoples to freely choose their own destiny and reach national independence, that is, to make their own history, becomes a struggle against neocolonialism and corresponds to a true revolution. The important thing is to be aware of the objective and subjective conditions in which this revolution is made and to know the most adequate forms of struggle. To the peoples of Africa, who until yesterday were subjected to imperialism's colonial system, this new historic stage would mean resounding victories: Africa would rise to meet a new life and impose its irrestrictive right to self-determination and independent development of its nations.

The result of these processes led Che to affirm that it was possible to create a common front in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism, and neocolonialism, convinced that the apparent aid given by imperialism to underdeveloped countries have objectives very contrary to those

alleged. As events have shown, in the case of Africa it was important to keep in mind that the imperialists had their eyes set on the continent and this represented a threat to the African peoples. We must not forget that one of the problems was the ignorance about Africa, apart from the separation that historically had existed between the Arab countries and the "Black Africa," according to the division imposed by imperialism. Among the real aspects he quotes the variety of dialects, the lack of linguistic unity and the continuous struggles between tribes, as well as the imposition of the language of the metropolis and the segregation between the neighboring countries. In the economy this division has been fatal - it does not permit a real integration between the countries as it responds to different interests. Thus regional planning, which is so necessary, is very difficult to carry out. Each progressive country is left isolated and has to struggle alone for its development, and this makes it fall into the claws of imperialism, which turns the country into a neocolony.

In Next Month's Issue:
The Wretched
of the
Earth

African Summit Black Bourgeoisie Snow Job

continued from page 3

folks, including Bush's point-man on Africa, Herman Cohen, who went on this trip.

Rev. Sullivan was also accompanied by such civil rights stalwarts as the NAACP's Benjamin Hooks, Dorothy Height of the National Conference of Negro Women, Coretta Scott King, SCLC's James Lowery, etc. Rev. Jesse Jackson was also an invitee but it was believed that he would not go just as another member of the delegation -- and who was not leading the group. (And for the record, Jesse didn't go.)

Sullivan's co-convenor and the summit's host, Houphouet-Boigny, has an even more interesting history. A clone of France's foreign policy in Africa and French interest in the world for the past forty years, Houphouet-Boigny has opposed African revolutionary self-determination since his conservative leadership of the old Rassemblement Democratique Africain (the colonized West African Democratic Rally [Grouping]) forced Ahmed Seku Ture to break from the RDA and form the Parti Democratique de Guinee (PDG) [Democratic Party of Guinea] in 1947.

Over three decades ago Houphouet-Boigny placed his country in the service of the French secret intelligence network when Guinea was led into independence by Ture in September of 1958 and numerous plots to overthrow the Guinean leader were hatched from Abidjan, as well as in Senegal under its former president Leopold Senghor, the widely acclaimed Negritude poet.

Similar attempts to block revolutionary leaders from assuming state power where Houphouet-Boigny played a surreptitious role was against the Cameroon's Felix Moumie, Mali's Modibo Keita, and the insidious US-French-Belgian campaign against the Congo's Patrice Lumumba. But perhaps the most odious role that the Ivory Coast leader has played is that of being the spokesman for the racist regime of South Africa in trying to break the neo-nazi clique out of isolation in West Africa.

Felix Houphouet-Boigny cannot escape his collaborationist history, particularly his relationship with the Pretoria regime -- from Johannes Balthazar Vorster through P.W. Botha on up to F.W. de Klerk today. He was the architect of the infamous "Dialogue with South Africa Campaign" at the very moment when Vorster's state killers were shooting down hundreds of Black youth in the streets of Soweto and other townships. Houphouet-Boigny has continued his brazen collabora-

tion policy with Pretoria for the past fifteen years, even today defying Nelson Mandela's appeal to maintain sanctions and keep the pressure on the apartheid system until majority rule is obtained.

Cote d'Ivoire, led by Houphouet-Boigny for the last 31 years, is an African country with deep contradictions. A Black country whose people are called "Ivorians." A country so Francophone that in attempting to keep up with the renaming of nations in their historical origins, its leadership merely insists now that one no longer calls the country Ivory Coast but by its French translation Cote d'Ivoire.

Since independence in 1960 Cote d'Ivoire has gained more white settlers than during colonization. In order to satisfy French commercial interests, Boigny has allowed 85 percent of its once pristine tropical forest to be cut down, threatening its environment; seen its magnificent herds of over 300,000 elephants reduced by hunters and poachers to a mere 3,000 animals; and seen its once "thriving" economy, the so-called "Ivoirian miracle," to go the way of all capitalist optical illusions, a steep decline during the last decade due to fluctuation -- or manipulation -- of the cocoa and coffee markets by his western friends.

Now that his country is in financial ruin, the idea that the capitalist mode of production he slavishly followed is also dictated to by the laws of monopoly capital. Recognizing that his country, which had been highly touted as Africa's one, exceptional success story, among other misguided countries that opted for "African socialism," or, worse yet, scientific socialist or other forms of non-capitalist paths of development has lost its luster, particularly since 1986, Monsieur Houphouet-Boigny suddenly discovers his long lost Black brothers and sisters...

Enter Leon Sullivan et al. The Black petit-bourgeoisie, not understanding what time it is, many making their first trip to West Africa -- if not Africa itself -- are overwhelmed by the glitter of Abidjan--the 13th most expensive city in the world (New York ranks 34th!). They discover the first ice skating rink in Africa in the Hotel d'Ivoire.

The summitters are taken to Yamoussokro, the president's birthplace, to see the crowning achievement of his thirty year reign. In anticipation of his eventual passing from mortal life, the 85-year old Cote d'Ivoire leader has built the largest Roman Catholic Basilica in the world - Our Lady of Peace.

Larger than St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, it stands on 130 hectares of landscaped gardens, an edifice to one man's personal illusions of grandeur and a vulgar insult to the concept of paying homage to God. At the cost of 200 million dollars, which the president claims from his personal fortune, in reality it represents the squandering of a nation's wealth created by the broad masses of African people of Cote d'Ivoire. To many it is an abomination.

To many in the African-American delegation, however, it is a wondrous sight to behold. They marvel at this symbol of ostentatious wealth that even embarrassed the Pope. Lost on them is the fact that this basilica - the biggest church in Christendom - was built upon the exploitation of the masses of a country of 12 million people of which only ten percent are Roman Catholic, over twenty-five percent are Muslim and over sixty-five percent practice traditional religions if any religion at all.

The sharp class differences in African society were hardly noticed. The fact that there have been unprecedented strikes, protests, demonstrations and demands for political representation other than the PDG, many of which occurred just prior to the Black US delegates arriving in the country.

But Sullivan, who skillfully covered up the nuances and critical issues of the South African liberation struggle during the anti-apartheid campaign for years, now obfuscates the questions of democratization in Africa today and the role that genuine Pan-Africanists will be called to play in helping to establish people's power in the motherland. However, this will hardly be allowed to develop if emotional tirades take precedence over dialectical analysis and scientific application.

In his exuberance when summing up the meeting, adopting resolutions which were mostly noble, Sullivan told the participants that the "dream of Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois had been realized...It took more than three centuries for this to happen, but the leaders of Africa-America will stand together with the leaders of Africa...And we want the world to know that we'll never be separated again.. We have been to the Promised Land!"

The rhetoric of Sullivan and company sounds pleasant to the ears of many who are too often bombarded with anti-African unity propaganda and snide, denigrating remarks about Africa, as well as socialist development. But for those for whom this summit is not truly anything new, the class character of those assembled, and neophyte self-promotion, bombast and bogus claims show an obvious contempt for history.

The planning of the Cote d'Ivoire summit was similar to a conference held last December in Lagos, Nigeria, entitled "Reparations for Africa and Africans in the Diaspora." It was sponsored by Chief Basorun Abiola, the publisher

of The National Concord, one of the largest newspapers in Nigeria. Although the argument of reparations is one that has been a burning issue among African nationalists or other radicals who are committed to the right to self-determination over the push for integration sought by civil rights activists, the former's presence was noticeably absent. The preponderance of those attending representing "Africans in the Diaspora" were, according to the New York Times of December 24, 1990, a "American politicians, academics and community leaders, including Martin Luther King 3d, a son of the late civil rights leader who told reporters that he strongly supported the reparations effort."

Now it is all well and good that the namesake son of the most prominent individual of the civil rights movement, which had spurned the argument of reparations, has seen the light and adopted this cardinal principle of redressing how Europeans exploited and impoverished Africans. There is, however, a serious problem in truly realizing reparations as a goal when the majority of those who have championed this demand for compensation to Africa and Africans worldwide for the underdevelopment of the Motherland and its people by the European slave trade and imperialist colonizations and subsequent theft of our human and material resources were not only invited but only heard about the conference after Nigeria's president Ibrahim Babangida made headlines by calling upon western nations to compensate Africa "for the damage done to the continent by the slave trade."

Capitalism and its predecessors, slavery and colonization, has given Africa the ironic distinction of being the world's richest continent with the world's poorest people. Continuing along this line, even with tacit approval and enthusiastic support by Black capitalist neophytes will not lead towards the ultimate liberation of Africa and African people, but only lead to the further deterioration and worsening of economic crises and the death of Africa and her people.

If the leaders who have already brought Africans in the United States to the brink of political, economic, social and cultural disaster are allowed to consolidate their new found Pan Africanist ideals, under the guise of a "leadership for a new tomorrow", then in the future when the demand for majority rule is finally manifested in Africa, there's a growing possibility of that the new majority will not even be Black people mislabeled as Ivorians, but, tragically, like the US and most of the Americans, real white people.

READ ATM

Youths Celebrate Malcolm X

Agenda: Work and Struggle

continued from page 5

Movement of Azania how the general strike was a tool widely utilized by the liberation forces in his country.

A third workshop engaged participants in a lively discussion of what political ideology will shape a liberated Black Nation. Making an analysis of Black people's historical and material development, the youths agreed that adopting and applying socialist principles would foment a type of society most conducive to meeting the specific socio-political, economic and cultural needs of Black people.

Saying that culture plays an important role in the liberation process, a fourth workshop examined the role of cultural artists and cultural expression in pushing our struggle forward.

Overwhelmingly, the youths said the agents of culture represent the collective will and honest expression of the masses of Black people, and, in that vein, should be held accountable to the people, instead of the corporate financiers who sign their paychecks.

While celebrating the burgeoning

cultural movement, the youths said it is necessary to make a concrete analysis at every juncture of different expressions; some of which may take a familiar form but are, in effect, being used as tools for our continued oppression.

The youths, who are products of the so-called 'television age,' are hyper-sensitive to the role of media in propagating the values of the larger society, and with that in mind, they surmised that as agents of liberation they would need to acquire the skills and the means of generating propaganda to agitate, educate and mobilize Black people.

The workshop panel was peopled by various activists who have chosen to work in newspaper publishing, video production, radio and other media.

Besides exchanging ideas and becoming sharper versed on the issues involved in liberation struggle, conference participants voiced the acute need for a centralized national student-youth movement in order to establish some synchronicity in ideas, plans and activities. The youth saw the lack of centralization as being an inhibiting element impacting on the

development of the national identity.

On Sunday, veteran actor and activist Ossie Davis lent his master allegorical skills to the conference. He implored the youths that in their quest for liberation, they must be clear about "liberation from what and liberation for what."

One of the more impressive displays was the BCM 'color guard,' dressed in black T-shirts with an oversized 'X' - to represent Malcolm X - emblazoned on the front. The 'color guard' provided an escort for Mr. Davis.

have played in the cultural development of Africans on the Continent and in the Diaspora, the youths welcomed the infectious rhythms of the Afro-Latin Band, Los Africanos.

The conference organizers played homage to the indigenous creations of Blacks in the West by showcasing the Ifeakor Okeke Jazz Ensemble, which provided renditions of classical jazz selections and contemporary arrangements.

Committed to keeping alive the progressive traditions which are the

The conference organizers played homage to the indigenous creations of Blacks in the West by showcasing the Ifeakor Okeke Jazz Ensemble

While the conference was work-intensive, the organizers had foreseen the weekend as a forum for various kinds of cultural expression. Grassroots Black artists provided canvasses and collages which lined the walls and walkways of the college's auditorium.

Several rap groups, representing the burgeoning socio-political subgenre, took to the auditorium's stage at various points during the conference to "kick analysis and insight" in a manner appreciated by all.

Celebrating the role that drums

legacy of our African ancestry, each evening, conference participants, scholars, activists, cultural artists, students and youths enjoyed the opportunity of breaking bread and socializing informally with each other.

Appreciating the euphoria of having a successful conference after committing extensive time and intensive energy, the organizers - representing a myriad of Black youth organizations from all over the United States - collectively said "Straight Ahead" to building for the National Malcolm X Youth Conference in 1992.

CUNY Strike 1991 The Heart of the Matter

continued from page 5

free academy, when tuition was not imposed upon the university during at least one depression (1929 when the university was almost exclusively white) and several major recessions, and when the problem of academic achievement is placed solely upon the shoulders of students rather than on underfunded, underdeveloped and failed grammar/high school system, we can only view the attacks on CUNY as a direct attack on Our People.

For us, the debate is not how much tuition should be increased, but that we ought not be paying it at all. Whose school? CUNY is our school---created by and for the poor people of this international city. The only reason the united states could even create a free academy within its capital economy, is that it has and continues to exploit labor from Black and Brown people. This is the heart of the matter -- america owes us and too often we are afraid to demand what is rightfully ours. If the Japanese could (correctly) be compensated for their illegal internment during the 1940s, then why not the children of former slaves--a people denied everything for 500 years?

Further, if we were to place the argument in purely socio-economic terms, then we must ask why, when it costs \$5000 per year to educate a CUNY student, does the government

prefer to imprison its youth at a rate of \$100,000 per year. The facts dictate that there are more Black males in prison than in college and that those who are in prison are thoroughly under-educated (the majority of the imprisoned do not even have a high school diploma).

Armed with this knowledge, we at CUNY have to question why the state chooses to be more involved in businesses like prison building than it is in school building. It is not that the state does not know the effects of its choices. We, after all, have gotten many of our statistics from the state. Mario Cuomo has built more than 25 prisons in 8 years while at the same time he has cut education. Why? For us the answer is clear. CUNY is proof that a socialist system - a real welfare system - works. People who graduate from CUNY are poor people who are able to move out of poverty and often contribute positively to their communities. For years this was the case with white people. It was never meant to be the case for us. A welfare system is attacked when it is the only thing america can be proud of. What else should a truly civilized society seek to do but make certain that all its people are cared for?

The destruction of the liberation movements of twenty years ago left america void of militant action, but people can only sleep for a limited

time. At CUNY, we have woken up. Admittedly, our protests are not without error, for we understand that we are in a constant state of learning. Yet what exists within this university is a heart and spirit of a people too long denied, and more, a people with little left to lose. The attack on our school comes at a time of renewed attacks on our communities as a whole. Suspensions and other forms of punishment do not scare most of us because we know it is our lives and the lives of our children that are at stake.

What is our message and meaning people ask? It is articulated in a

Whose School? Our School!

simple chant:

Whose School? Our School!

Whose Streets? Our Streets!

About the continuance of the struggle, we offer this vision: In 1989 students did not have to deal with police intervention and most were afraid of it. In 1990 and 1991, not only were pigs a regular factor in our protests, but people chose to get arrested rather than walk away. A willingness to stand our ground in the face of ultimate threats is brewing. By next year, the choice of students might be to passively resist pigs. After passive resistance, there is only one level left to choose -- that of violent resistance to state power. Whether it's next year or the year after or 1995, what I know for sure is this: at CUNY the struggle will continue.

We have no choice.



City University of New York (CUNY) students protest proposed tuition hikes and cuts in services. (Photo by Brian Palmer)

Freedom Fighter Details Political Development

continued from page 6

responsibility for their actions. Yet these same forces abandon political prisoners/POWs in the US, holding us responsible for political/military activity they don't approve of. If they are even aware of our existence.

The more sectarian organizations respond negatively to armed actions. They don't recognize anything which isn't on their agenda or under their control. But there is something more insidious at work within political movements as a whole, composed in large part of white middle class activists. How is it they can dictate to the most oppressed people in Amerika the method they will use to achieve their

own liberation? (Amerika's longest held political prisoners, and the greatest in numbers are from the Black Liberation struggle).

Are we expected to wait, before we resist, for some illuminating end to white supremacy and class cooptation/collaboration? And what of the millions subjected to police violence and grinding poverty, down-pressed in the streets and in prisons of all kinds, who will die tomorrow, next week, and next year - are we to be relegated to inferiority in the movements the way we have been in society? Amerika has a way of turning on itself - of abusing its young and devouring its elders. We live in a country where people support the nuclear destruction of

Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the invasions of Grenada, Panama, and the Middle East; and the murders in Central America. The difficulty in winning their hearts and minds should not preclude uncompromising acts of armed resistance.

A single spark can start a prairie fire - assuming there's a bit of dry kindling about. There are examples of Native American resistance, Nat Turner's revolt, John Brown's raid, El Grito de Lares/Puerto Rico, and even the legendary Boston Ten expropriation. There are a thousand other stories throughout People's history. They are fragmented and divided by time, groups, and issues, but armed resistance is a real part of our history. It was in the 60s, 70s, and 80s and will be in the future. It doesn't have to be a chapter or even a footnote in the books to realize that such resistance has provided some degree of inspiration and directions to many whose lives were leveled by oppression.

Many of the SMJJ/UFF actions were done in solidarity with

liberation struggles subjected to the full force of US imperialism. Movements fighting for the lives and freedom of their people. These rearguard actions were a single thread of support within the larger context. None of these actions were detrimental to the struggles they supported, nor to the activities of organizations who work in the general public. Anti-imperialism requires a multi-dimensional, multi-levelled approach.

The government of course, has responded to militant and armed resistance with extensive counter-insurgency efforts. This should surprise no one familiar with this government's criminal activity. The reason is simple enough - they fear the potential of such resistance to proliferate and develop into formidable movements. They detest the example as much as the actions themselves. They fully realize the potential is there as long as oppression exists.

GLOBAL CONTEXT

BCM(A) Analyzes Azanian Struggle

continued from page 15

self-congratulatory glorification, very little has been written about the latter perspective. And because this omission contains the potential for blurring issues, it is necessary to devote a few lines to this perspective.

Black people. To be sure, these organizations came into existence because of the political conflict in this country. The fact that they are now unbanned in no way addresses the cause for which they came into being. In fact, for Black people, the obscene life of poverty, hunger, homelessness and disease remains much the same now as before deKlerk unbanned organizations, the statute block is still replete with discriminatory legislation, F.W. deKlerk owns and controls the SAP [South African Police], the SADF, [South African Defense Forces] the keys to jails and the jails themselves. In a word, Black people continue to

bleed under the murderous wheel of the apartheid system.

Yet, Black people are expected to be reasonable enough to embrace the call by deKlerk to negotiate a resolution of the conflict. We in the BCM remain firm in the belief that negotiating with the regime now amounts to negotiating Black people into a subtler form of subjugation. We believe further, that before we could even begin to think in terms of negotiating with the regime, we should first negotiate among ourselves. It is in this context, that we take this opportunity to invite both the ANC and the PAC to talks around the issue of negotiation.

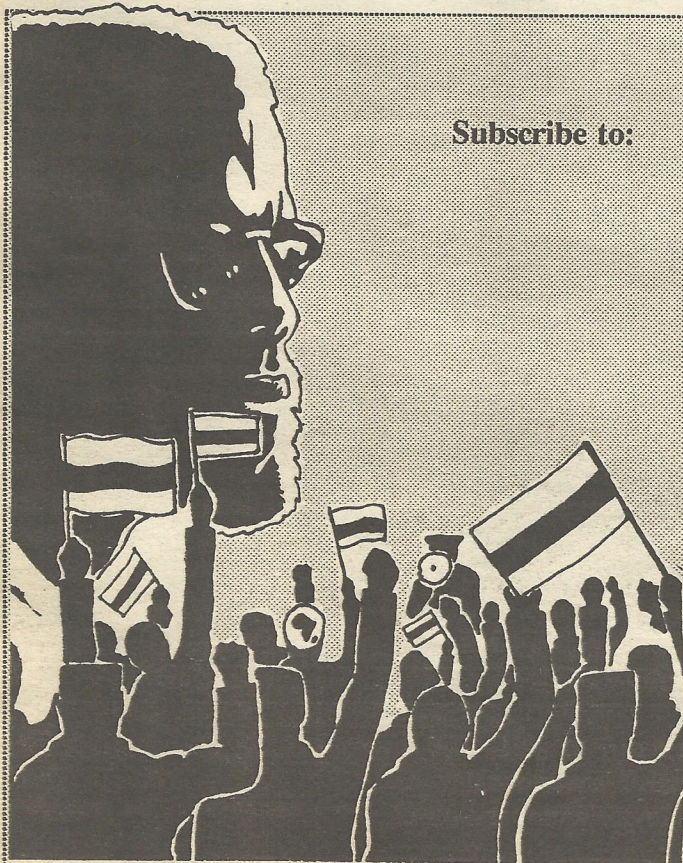
As for the Harare Declaration, which is fast assuming the status of the Namibian Resolution 435, the BCM has produced a critique thereof which it has made readily available. Suffice it to say that in Black people alone, resides the monopoly to decide the course, the direction and the destination of our struggle.

Black people, while appreciating and commending the enthusiasm of other people to help search for a solution to our political problems, reserve the right to reject imposed solutions to our conflict.

The times such as the ones we live in today demand of Black people to pause and reflect. Unless we do so, we might find ourselves having abetted a process whose end-result is the derailment of our revolutionary struggle.

We in the BCM call upon the masses of our people to be alive to the nice-sounding, but deceptive pronouncements of deKlerk and his cohorts; to swell the ranks of the cohorts; to swell the ranks of the Azanian National Liberation Army (ANANLA) in their thousands and to heighten, deepen and intensify the war against the enemy, for herein lies the salvation and hope of the destitute and the hopeless. In doing so Black people have nothing at all to lose but their chains, and the whole world and wealth to gain.
ONE AZANIA ONE NATION
Johannesburg 3 March 1990

REMEMBER SOWETO June 16, 1976



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